

THE
VIEVV OF
Fraunce.



JOHINI MORRIS.

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THE VIEVV OF FRANCE.



Caesar *Com.*
ÆSAR in his Commentaries, deuileth the people of Gaule, into *Belgi*, *Celtæ*, and *Aquitani*, parted the one from the other by the two Riuers of *Seine* and *Garond*: the *Aquitani* from the *Celtæ* by the *Garond*: the *Belgi* from the *Celtæ* by the *Seine*, and these betweene the two Riuers. According to which diuision, *Philip de Commines* boun-^{P. Commin-}deth France with two Seas, the Ocean and ^{nes.} Mediterra-*nean*; with two Mountaynes, the Alpes and Pirencis, and with one Riuer, the Rheine.

If I should follow the direction of these two most *Limits*. approued authorities, I must be forced to discourse of such Princes, as are interested in this large compasse, as namely, the *Spanish King*, the *States of the low Countries*, the *Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine*, the *Pope himselfe*, the little City of *Geneua*, and others: but I onely purpose to take a view of that which is directly vnder the Crowne of France at this day, and thereof to giue a superficiall relation.

France then is seated vnder a very temperate and *Commin-* wholeome Clymate, *En tout le monde il n'y a Région* ^{P. Commin-} *mieux située que celle de la France, car nous y tenons de region* ^{nes.} *chaude et aussi de la frosd*: There is no Countrey in the world better scituare then that of France: for it participateth of the Clymate both hote and cold. It is in length from *Bologne* to *Marseilles*, two hundred leagues (after the rate of three English miles a league) and in breadth from *Mount S. Bernard*, to *s. John de Luze*, as ^{Cabinet} ^{du Ray.} much:

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Bodin.
lib. 6.
La Noue. much: for it is holden by some Authours to be of figure, quadrate: which notwithstanding *Bodin* denyleth, avowing it to be in forme of a Lozenge, with whom *La Noue* consenteth, measuring it thus: From *Calais* (for now *Calais* is French) to *Narbone*, North and South, is two hundred leagues: from *Rochell* to *Lions*, West and East, is one hundred and twenty leagues: From *Mets* to *Bayonne* Northeast and Southwest, two hundred leagues; and from *Morley* in *Bretagny*, to *Antibe* in *Pronence*, Northwest and Southeast, as much. True it is, that many places within this compass are holden, but not of the King, as *Ausignon*, and what else the Pope hath: *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Mets*, of the Empire: *Cambray*, of the house of *Austrich*, in like case of Protection, as *Constance* in *Switzerland*, *Vtrich* in the lowe Countries, and *Vienna* in *Austria*: and as *Lucce* and *Genova* in *Italy*, protected by the King of Spayne. So doe *Lorraine* also and *Sauoy* hold of the Empire. As contrarily, there be places out of this circuit, which notwithstanding hold of this Crowne in right, and owe him fealty and homage; as the Spanyard for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which he hath ever since the time of *Frannecis* the first, denied to render.

*Pro-
vinces.* *La Guide.* **T**He diuers Prouinces of the Countrey are very many: the chiefe are these; *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Ile of France*, *Beauſſe*, *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Poictewe*, *Lymosin*, *Xantonge*, *Champaigne*, *Berry*, *Sologne*, *Auvergne*, *Niuernois*, *Lyonnaois*, *Charrolois*, *Bourbonois*, *Daulphine*, *Prouence*, *Languedocke*, *Tourraine*, and *Burgundy*. All which are particularly set downe in Mappes, as also in the Booke, called *The French Guide*, where he vnder-

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undertaketh to resemble eche Countrie to some other thing, as *Bretaigne*, to a horse shooe; *Picardy*, to a Neats young; and such like: which are but idle and disproportioned comparisons, as one may well obserue, that feeth these Countries in the Card.

But the thing of best note in each of these, is their *Como-singular Commodities* and fruits, wherewith they are *dities*. blessed for the sustenance of the Inhabiter: Insomuch that as they say of *Lombardy*, that it is the Garden of Italy: so may we truly say of France, that it is the Garden of Europe. *Picardy*, *Normandy* and *Languedocke*, goodly Countries of Corne, as any in Christendome, all the Inland Countries, full of Wine, fruits & graine: in some, great store of wood; in others, of flaxe; in others, Mines of salt, in others, of Iron: Insomuch as one sayth, *Toutes choses necessaires à la vie humaine y regorgent en telle abondance, que seulement du bled, du vin, du sel, et du pastel, qui se transporte es païs estrangers, s'y entre en contr'eschange annuellement plus de douze millions de liures:* All things necessary for mans life overflow there in such abundance, that in counterchange only of the Corne, Wine, Salt & Wood, transported into forreine Countries, there is yeerely brought into France twelue hundred thousand pounds sterling. And another no lesse approued, and as well practised in the State of France, sayth, *Les sources du sel, du vin, et du bled, sont inespuisables:* Bod. li. 6. The Springs of Salt, Wine and Corne, are not to bee drawne dry. In which place, he complayneth, that the Kings of France were wont in times past to helpe their neede with sales of Wood, which are now of late yeeres so spoyled, as France shall shortly be forced to haue their lard frō other coutries, as also wood to build

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and burne: a complaýnt which I haue often heard in England. Other Prouinces haue also their especiall Commodities, wherein they excell their neighbours: as in *Lymosin*, the best Beeues; about *Orleans*, the best Wines; in *Auvergne*, the best Swyne; in *Berry*, the best Muttons, where there is such store, as thereto they haue a Prouerbe, when they would taxe a fellow for his notable lying, that tells of a greater number then the truth, they say, *Il n'y a tant de Moutens en Berry*: As one would say, Fye, there be not so many sheepe in Berry. They partake with vs also in sea commodities: as vpon the *Bod. contra Mala test.* coast of *Picardy*, where the shore is sandy, they haue store of flat fish: vpon the coast of *Normandy & Guyen*, where it is rocky, fish of the Rocke (as the French call them) and vpon the coast of *Brtaigne*, where it is muddy, store of round fish, as Lamprey, Conger, Haddock; so likewise in diuers seasons, diuers other sorts, as Mackeral in the end of the Spring, and *Maquerelles* (Bawds) at all times, Herrings in the beginning of Autumne, as we haue in England, &c.

Bod. contra Mala. Bodin will needs take vpon him, being no more pertinent to his matter, then it is heere, to shew the reason why in old time among the most delicate & toothsome Trencher-men of the ancient Romanes, they alwayes feasted with Fish: because (sayth hee) it is neyther so mezzeld as Porke; nor scabd as Mutton; nor ranke as Goat; nor dropfy as Lambe; nor impostumate as Beefs; nor subiect to the falling sicknesse, as Quayles and Turkey-Cocks; nor to inflammations, as Capons; nor to lice as Pigeons: and yet the friand French-man, as well as we, neuer eats it, but on *maigre dayes* (fasting dayes) and then also by compulsion of the Lawes. But by his leaue,

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leauie, I suppose, they in old time did it vpon a vaineglorious prodigalitie, not for any licorousnes; for *Sardanapalus* neuer made his great banquets of Fish, but *Isfin*. when he was farthest from Sea: and *Asope* the Tragick, that spent 15000. crownes at a feast, bestowed it all in birdes tongues, as of Linnets, Nightingales, and such others as had beene taught to sing, that the price might be the greater. Giue me for all this the good old Bishop of *Toledo* his Capon, who vpon a fasting day would needs make the companie at table beleue, that by the force of certaine wordes of consecration, he had transubstantiate this fat Fowle into fish, and that there onely remained the outward forme, as *Poggio* the Florentine reports of him. *Poggio*.

This Country must needs be wel stored with fish; for besides the benefit of the sea, the lakes and ponds belonging only to the Clergie, which at the most haue but one third of France, are reported to be 135. thousand. *Cabines du Roy.*

The riuers also of France are so many, as *Boterus Boterus* reporteth of the Queene Mother, she shoulde say heere *Relations.* were more then in all Christendome; but we hold her for no good Cosmographer; shee had her other qualities, which shall not be forgotten in their fit place. True it is, that the riuers here are many, and very faire, and so *Riuers.* fitly seruing one the other, & al the whole, as it seemeth, nature, in the framing of our bodies, did not shew more wonderfull prouidence, in disposing veines and arteries throughout the bodie, for their apt conveyance of the blood and spirit, from the liuet and heart, to each part thereof, then shee hath shewed in the placing of these waters, for the transporting of all her commodities.

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modities to all her seuerall Prouinces. Of all those, these are the principall; the *Seine*, vpon which standeth the Citie of *Paris*, *Rouen*, and many other. It hath his head a little aboue *Chatillon* in the northwest of *Lingenois*, and receyuet nine Riuers of name; whereof the *Tonne*, the *Marne*, & the *Oyse* are nauigable, that is, doe carrie boats with sayle.

The *Some*, whereupon standeth the Citie of *Amyens*, *Abbeusle*, and many other: It hath his head aboue *S. Quentin*, diuideth *Picardie* from *Artois*, and receyuet eight lesser Riuers. The *Loire* hath standing vpon it the Cities of *Orleans*, *Nantes*, and many other: his head is in *Anuergne*, it parteth the middle of France, his course is almost two hundred Leagues, it receyuet 72. Riuers, whereof the chiefe are *Allier*, *Cher*, *Mayne*, *Crense*, *Vienne*, all nauigable. The *Garond*, vpon which standeth *Bourdeaux*, *Thoulouse*, and other Cities: it hath his head in the *Pyreney* mountaines, it diuideth *Languedocke* from *Gascoine*, it receyuet sixteene riuers, whereof *Isarne*, *Lot*, *Bayze*, *Dordonne*, and *Lisle* are chiefest.

And lastly, the *Rhosne*, vpon which standeth the Citie of *Lions*, *Auignon*, and diuers others: it hath his head in the mountaines *Alpes*, diuideth *Sauoy* from *Lyonnois*, and *Dolphei* from *Languedocke*, it receyuet thirteene riuers, whereof the *soane*, the *Doue*, *Ledra*, and *Durance* are the chiefest.

All the other Riuers carrie their stremes into the Ocean, *Some* at *Saint Vallery*, *Seine* at *Newhaven*, *Loire* beneath *Nantes*, and *Garond* at *Blay*: onely the Riuer of *Rhosne* payeth his tribute to the *Mediterranean* at *Arles*.

The

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The *Seine* is counted the richest, the *Rhosne* the swiftest, the *Garond* the greatest, the *Loyre* the sweetest, for *Relations*. *Botorus* makes of them, where he omits the *Garond*, and makes the *Soane* a principall Riu-
er, is generally rejected.

Whien we lightly consider the happy fruitfulness of this soyle, and the exceeding benefit of these riuers, I know not what wee should say is wanting, vnsesse yee will say, *animus, qui his utatur, deest*, wit to vse them: for *Terentius*, in deede the French hath these eight and thirtie yeeres abused them with their ciuill and intestine warres. Doe but conceyt in your imagination the faire Townes of Italy heere seated, and in them, the English Nation planted: and in my opinion, ye haue the right Idea of *Platoes happy State*: *O vtsnam! O si!*

But I must remember one inconuenience and discommodity it hath.

I haue heard some poore Countrey-mans say, He loues not to haue his house too neere a Lawyer. It should seeme they bee ill Neighbours; and it may be that *Themistocles* roud at some such matter, when hee caused the Sergeant to cry in publike place, that besides *Plutarch*, all the good properties which his Farme had, that hee set to sale, *Qu'il auoit bon voisins*: That hee had a good neighbour.

This is the mischiefe, that faire France hath about her so many bad neyghbours, as *Lorraine*, *Sauoy*, and *Spayne*, of whose good affection to this Countrey, wee may say with the Poet, *Vnum cognoris, omnes noris*: Knowe one, and knowe them all: Neyther of them wish her better then other,

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as hath well appeared in the late ciuill warres, wherein
eche thought to haue had his share, howsoeuer (now)
they loue no Grapes.

Hanes and Ports. La Guide. The Ports and passages into France, where Custome
is payd to the King, were in times past more then
they be now: the names of them at this present, are
these: In Picardy, Calais, Bologne, S. Vallery. In Norma-
dy, Diepe, Le Haure de Grace, Honnefleux, Caen, Cherbronge.
In Bretaigne, S. Malo, S. Brieu, Brest, Quimpercorentine,
Vannes, Nants. In Poictow, Lusson, les sables d'Olonne. In
Rochellois, Rochelle. In Xantogne, Zoubisse. In Guyenne,
Bourdeux, Blay, Bayonne. In Languedocke, Narbonne, Agde,
Bencaire, Maugueil. In Prouence, Arles, Marseilles,
Fransis. In Lionnois, Lions. In Burgogne, Auſonne, Lan-
gres. In Champagne, Chaumont, Chalons, Trois. In the
Territory Metzin, Metz, Toul, Verdun. In all, thirty
feuen: Of all these, Lions is reputed to be the most ad-
uantageous to the Kings Finances, as being the key for
all silks, clothes of gold and siluer, and other marchan-
dice whatsoeuer, which come or goe from Italy, Swisser-
Land, and all those Southeast Countreyes, into France,
which are brought to this Towne by the two faire Ri-
uers of Rhosne and Soan: the one comming from Sauoy,
the other from Burgundy, and heere meeting: where,
by the way, me thinks, I may fitly compare these two
Waters, to two great Princes of these two great
Countries, comming to be maried at this great City,
which within the walles is within ten Toyles as large
as Paris. In which allusion, I make the Rhosne (which in
the French tong is of the masculine gender) the Sa-
uoyard Prince; and the Soane, which is likewise in this
language, the feminine, the Princesse of Burgundy;
which

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which conceit is the better warranted, because *le Rhoſne* is a very swift and furious Riuſ, which well agreeith with the nature and condition of the man; and *la Sona*, a ſtill and ſweet water, which rightly ſymbolizeth with the quality of a woman.

I would our Poet, that made a marriage betweene *Spencer*, the *Medun* and *Thames* at *Rochester*, had the handling of this matter; for it becomes a Poeme better then a Relation.

For profit, next to *Lions*, are *Bourdeaux*, *Rochell*, *Marſeilles*, *Nantes* & *Newhauen*: But for capability of ſhipping, I haue heard that *Bref* excelleth; and for strength, *Calais*, especially as it is now lately fortified by the Spanyard, which was not let long ſince to bee called, *La Commines plus belle Capitainerie du monde, au moins de la Chreſtiente*: *cap. 30.*
The goodlyest gouernment in the world, at leaſt in Christendome.

There are requisite in all Ports, to make them perfit, these foure things: 1. *Magnarum & multarum Navium Lipsius*, *capabilitas*. 2. *Naubus intifima ſtatio*. 3. *Ad hostilem vim coercendam habilitas*. 4. *Mercatorum frequentatio*: 1. Roome to receiue many and great Ships. 2. Safe riding. 3. Facility of repelling forraine force. 4. Concourse of Marchants. The moſt of these French Ports haue all foure properties, except onely the laſt, which in the time of theſe ciuill broyles, haue discontinued: and except that we will alſo graunt, that *Calais* fayles in the firſt.

The Cities in France (if ye will count none Cities, *Cities*, but where is a Bishops ſea, are onely one hundred & *Bodin. li. 5* foure. There be ſo many Archbishops and Bishops in all, as ſhall in more fit place be ſhewed: But after the

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French reckoning, calling every *Ville*, a City, which is not eyther a Burgade, or a Village, we shall finde that their number is infinite, and indeed vncertaine, as is also the number of the townes in generall. Some say, there bee one million and seuen hundred thousand: but they are of all wise men reprooued. Others say, sixe hundred thousand; but this is also too great to be true. The *Cabinet* rateth them at one hundred thirry two thousand of Parith Churches, Hamlets and Villages of all sorts. *Bodin* layth, there be twenty seuen thousand and four hundred, counting only every City for a Parish: which will very neere agree with that of the *Cabinet*; and therefore I embrase it as the truest.

By the reckoning before set downe of two hundred leagues square (which France almost yeeldeth) we must compute, that here is in all forty thousand leagues in square, and in every league, fife thousand Arpens of ground, which in all amounteth to two hundred millions of Arpens: which summe being deuided by the number of the Parishes, sheweth, that one with another, eche Village hath one thousand, fife hundred and fiftene Arpens, which measure is bigger then our Acre.

Wee may, if wee will, abstract a third, because *Bodin* will not admit France to be square, but as a Lozenge: For in matter of such generallity as this, men doe alwayes set downe suppositions, not certaynties.

Of all these Cities and great Townes, I will omit to speake in particular (though a Stranger must very precisely obserue whatsoeuer he sees in his traayle) affyng in *La Note* his censure, for their manner

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ner of Fortification. *Sion veut (sayth hee) regarder la Noue,*
par toute la France, ie cuyde qu'on n'y trouuera, hors mis quel-
ques chasteux, aucune ville qui soit a demy parfaite, selon les
regles des ingenieurs : If a man will looke throughout
all France, I thinke that (some Castles excepted) hee
shall not finde any Towne halfe perfectly fortifyed, ac-
cording to the rules of Ingeneres.

Onely I must adde, that since his time, which
is now aboue twenty yeeres, many Townes also
haue bettered their maner of fortifying: amongst
which, none more (by report) then that of *Rochell*:
and lately, that of *Amiens*, of which wee might last
yeere, while the Spanyard held it, say (as is sayd of *De-*
celea, in the Territory of Athens) which *Alcibiades*
counselfled the Lacedemonians, to take and fortify,
namely, that it did *consuener et mettre abas la puissance Plutarque*
de la France, autant et plus que nulle autre chose : Con- in *Ale-*
sume and bring low the power of France, as much
as any thing else whatsoeuer: And that it kept and
scowred all the passages from *Paris* to *Rouen*, like that
other from *Athen* to *Eleusina*.

But as the losse of this Towne wounded the
whole body of France, so the regayning of it, was
not onely the healing of the hurt receyued (wher-
in it was better then the *Pelias Hasta*) but also the ray-
sing of it to these happy tearmes, wherein it now
stands.

This Towne would giue mee gcod occasion
to speake of the last yeeres siege, the Cardinalles
comming, and the Cityes yeelding, with ma-
ny other accidents very memorable and worthy the
recounting; wherein I had rather spend an howres

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time in talking, then any Paper in writing; for that, to pen it, asketh the judgement of a Soldier, of which honour I am most vnworthy: Neyther will I also spend time in the discoursing of other Cities, which we haue scene heere in France, as of their situation, building, wealth and fortification, saue onely of *Paris*, because the French say, this is a world, no City.

After that, I will breefly relate of the Castles in France, and of some reasons why it is prejudiciall to the quiet of a State, to haue many of them, except they all belong to the Prince, who ought to haue of them in his frontier places, and Lymitrophes (as they call them) and vpon Cities which are strong to keepe them in awe, not else; and as that of *S. Katherine*, which you sawe at *Rouen*, now rased; and then I will end the first branch of this Relation, namely, of the Topography of this Countrey.

Paris. The City of *Paris*, seated in a very fruitful and pleasant part of the *Ile of France*, vpon the Riuers of *Sein*, is by the same deuided into three parts: that on the North towards *S. Denis*, is called the *Burge*: that on the South toward the *Fauxbourges* of *S. Germaines*, is called the *Universitie*, and that in the little *Ile*, which the Riuer there makes, by deuiding it selfe, is called the *Ville*.

This part, no doubt, is the most ancient; for saith my *Cesar* *Authour, Lutecia est une ville des Parisiens, assise en une Com. li. 7. Isle de Seine*: Lutecia is a City of the Parisians, seated in an *Ile* of the *Seine*. We may distinguish it thus: into *Transsequana*, *Cissequana*, and *Interamnis*: The part beyond the *Seine*: that on this side the *Seine*, and that in the *Ile* encompast with the Riuer. It is reputed not onely the capitall City of France, but also the greatest

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test in all Europe. It is about the walls, some ten English miles : these are not very thicke, the want whereof is recompenced with the depth of the ditch, and goodness of the Rampart, which is thicke and defensible, saue on the South side, which, no doubt, is the weakest part of the Towne, on which side it is reported, that the L. Willoughby offred the King in foure dayes to enter, at such time as he besieged it. Wherevnto the King condescended not by the counsell of the olde Marshall *M. Biron.*
ron, who told him, It was no policy to take the Bird naked, when he may haue her feathers and all. On the other side, especially towards the East, it is very well fortifyed with Bulwarke and Ditch, sayre and moderne, *Antiq.*
Les Rampars furent faictes et portes S. Antoine, S. Michel, par.
et S. Iaques et ailleurs, 1544. The Ramparts of the Gates *S. Anthony, S. Michel, and S. Iames*, and elsewhere, were made 1544.

This Bastile of *S. Anthony*, was built (some say) by the English; and indeed it is somewhat like those peeces which they haue built elsewhere in France, as namely, that at *Rouen*: howbeit, I read in *Vigner* his *Cronicle*, *Vigner.* that it was builded by a *Preuost of Paris*, in the time of *Edward the third of England*, at what time our Kings began their first clayme, and had as yet nothing to doe in this City.

Some other monuments I purpose to speake of, with their Founders, by the example of *Plutarch*, who in his *Plut. Peri.* discourse of *Athens*, particularizeth in this maner : *Pantheon Hecatompedon*, built by *Ictinus* and *Callicratidas*, the Chappell of *Eleusine*, by *Corabus* : the Lanterne, by *Xenocles* : the *Theater*, or the *Odeon*, by *Pericles* : the Port *Pyreum*, by *Mnesicles*, and the *Palladium of Pallas*, by *Phidias*.

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Pheidias. So in this Towne, the *Chastelet* was built by
Haillan. li. Julian the Apostata: the *University* was founded by *Char-*
temagne, Anno, 800. who also erected those of *Bologna*
and *Padoa*.

The Church of *Nostre Dame* (Our Lady) was founded Anno, 1257. where are these verses following engrauen, to shew the greatnessse of it:

Antiq.
Par.

Si tu veux sçauoir comme est ample
de Nostre Dame le grand Temple:
Il a dans enure pour le seur
dixsept toyster de hauteur:

Sur la largeur de vingt et quatre, et soixante et cinq sans
rebastre, A de long: aux, tours haut montees: trent quatre sont
bien comptees, Le sout fonde sur pillotis, anssi vray, que ie te le
dis:

If you would know the greatnessse of the great Church of our Lady, the roote thereof is 17. fathom high, it is 24. fathom broad, 65. fathom long, the two Steeples are 34. fathom high aboue the Church, and al founded vpon piles.

The *Huſtel de la ville* (The Towne-House) was finished by *Francis 1.* Anno. 1533. with this inscription ouer the Gate, S.P.E.P. that is, *Senatus, Populo, Equisibus*. que *Parisiensibus* pie de se meritis, *Franciscus primus Francorum Rex potentissimus*, has edes a fundamentis extruendas mandauit, accurauit, condendisque publice consiliis et administranda Reip. dicauit, anno vii supra:

For his wel-deseruing Senate, people & Burghers of *Paris*, *Francis* the 1. most puissant King of France, commanded this house to be built from the foundation, and finished it, & dedicated it to the calling of the Common Coucill, and gouerning the Cittie, in the yere aforesaid.

This

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This is, as ye would say, the Guild Hall of the towne. The *Hôtel Dieu* in *Paris*, was augmented and finished in 1535. by *Antoine de Prat*, Chancelor in this City, his pountreict with *Francis 1.* is vpon the dore as ye enter. This is (as we call it at London) the Hospitall. The *Palace de Paris* was built by *Philip le Bel*, 1283. purposing it should haue bin his mansion house; but since, it hath bene disposed into diuers Courts, for the execution of Justice, iust like *Westminster Hall*, which likewise at first was purposed for the Kings Palace.

Here you haue such a shew of Wares in fashion, but not in worth, as ye haue at the *Exchange*. Heere is a Chappell of the *S. Esprit*, built by *S. Lewes*, 1242. Here are all the feuen Chambers of the Court of Parliament (which was first instituted by *Charles Martel*, father to *King Pepin, anno 720.*) but of them all, the great Chamber of *Paris* is most magnificently beautified and adorned by *Lewes* the twelfth. At the entry, is a Lion cow-*chant*, with his tayle betweene his legges, to signify, that all persons, how high souuer, are subiect to that Court.

The Chamber also of Comptes, built by this *Lewes*, is a very fayre roome; at the entry whereof are fife portreicts with their Mots. The first is *Temperance*, with a Diall and Spectacle: Her word, *Mibi spreta voluptas: I despise pleasure.* Secondly, *Prudence*, with a looking Glasse, and a Sive: her word, *Consilij rerum speculator: I prye into the Counsell of things.* *Justice*, with a Ballance and a sword: her Mot, *Sua cuique ministro: I giue to every man his owne.* *Fortitude*, with a Tower in one arme, and a Serpent in the other:

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her word, *Me dolor atque metas fuziunt*, Both payne and feare auoyde me. And lastly, *Lewes the King*, with a Scepter in one hand, and holding Justice by the other, and this written for his word,

Quatuor has Comites soueo, celestia dona,

Innocua pacis prospera Sceptra gerens:

My happie Scepter in calme peace doth flourish,
While I these heauen-bred sisters 4. do nourish.

To speake particularly of all other the buildings and Courts of this Palace, as the Chamber of the Treasurer, the Table of Marble, the Courtes of Aides, and such like, were to be too tedious.

The buildings of this Citie are of stone, very fayre, high, and vnisforme, throughout the towne, onely vpon the Port *N. Dame*, Our Ladies Bridge, which is, as it were, their Cheapeside: their building is of brickbat, all alike notwithstanding; the fayrest Fabricke in the towne (and worthily) is the Kings Castle or Palace of the *Louure* at the west: It is in forme quadrangulare, the south and west quarters are new and Princelike, the other two very antique and prisonlike. They were pulled downe by *Francis. 1.* and begun to be rebuilt, but finished by *Henry the second*, with this inscription, *Henricus 2. Rex Christianissimus, vetustate collapsum adficium refigere capiit.* The most Christian King *Henry the 2.* began to repare this time-ruined edifice.

From this Palace, the King is building a Galery, which runnes along the riuer East and West, and his purpose is, it shall passe ouer the towne ditch with an Arch, and so continue to the *Twilleries*, which is at least sixe hundred paces, and so both these buildings shall bee vntited into one: which, if euer it be done, will bee the greatest and goodliest

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goodliest Palace of *Europe* : This Gallery is very curiously wrought with *Flowers de luce*, curious knots, branches, and such like device, cut in stone; and in every place this word of the Kings, *Duo protegit unus*, Which I suppose, implyeth, One God maintaynes the two Kingdome of France and Nauarre.

The building of the *Twilleries*, begun by the *Q. Mother* (which is also a stately work) is now in the finishing: for this *Queene Mother* began many things, but finished none (except mischieves) witnessle this present house of the *Twilleries*, and that other at *S. Maur* some two leagues from *Paris*, whither, ye remember, we went to kisse the young Prince of *Condies* hand, which then tolde vs was morgaged to her *creanciers* (creditors) for 25. thousand Crownes, and now stands vnprefited.

The next house in state, both for the beautie of the building, and device in the Gardens, is that of *Monsieur Gondy*, an Italian, whose father came into France with *Katherine de Medices*, and was here by her aduanced. There be other very many and very stately buildings, as that of *Mons. Sanguiné*, *Mons. de Monpensier*, *de Neners*, and infinite others, whereof especially towards the East end this towne is full, in so much as ye may say of the French Noblesse, as is elsewhere said of the *Agrigentines*, *They build, as if they should live euer, and feede, as if they should dye to morrow.* But among all these, there is none (sayth this Author) that exceed more then the Lawyers, *Les gens de Justice* (et sur tout les *Tresoriers*) *ont augmenté aux seigneurs l'ardeur de bastir*: The Lawyers, and especially the Officers of the Kings money, haue enflamed in the Nobilitie the desire of building.

La Noue.

I haue heard a tale of a President of Parliament,

D

whole

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whole friends comming on a time to see him at his new house, began exceedingly to commend it, as indeed it deserued, as well for the rarenesse of the workmanship, as the goodnesse of the Stone, Timber, Marble, and suchlike. No (quoth he) ye mistake the stuffe whereof it is made: this house is onely built, *de bestes des fols*: of fooles heads. I thinke many of our newe buildings in England, are made of the same stuffe.

Ye must note, it is not yet one hundred yeeres since this stately kind of building (or I should rather say, beaufiull; for still the most stately is the most ancient) came first in request. *La Noste* sayth, *Il n'y a gueres plus de soixants ans quel l'architecture a ester establee en France et au parvaunt on se logoit a ses grossierement*: It is not much more then threescore yeeres since Architecture was reestablished in France, and before that time, men were houised but homely. Hee there seemes to commend it, as a great grace to his Countrey: Marry, saith he, *Si on conte aussi combien telles magnificences ont enuoyé de gens au bissac, on dira que la marchandise est bien chere*: If we reckon withall how many such magnificence hath sent to the *we may say, tis very deare marchandise*. I am for my part, of Frier *John of Antomaure* his mind, who seeing in a great Palace such stately Halls, such goodly Galleries, such fayre Chambers, such well contriued Offices: and on the other side, the Kitchen so leane, the Chimneyes so cold, and the Cellars so dry, *Vn beau Chasteau dit-il a faire de belles promenades, et me carez mes dens a ieuun als Napolitaine*: A faire Castle (said he) to walke faire turnes in, and picke my teeth fasting after the Neapolitane fashion.

La Noste.

Rablaiss

The

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The Vniuersities, wherein in times past were wont to bee (by report) aboue thirty thousand of all sorts, are now by reason of the warres, reduced to a fourth part, and many of these children, such as our petty Schooles in the Countries are furnished withall. The streets both in the City, Vniuersity, and Suburbs, are very faire, straight, and long very many of them; the shops thick, but nothing so full of wares, nor so rich as they of London, in comparison whereof, these seeme rather Pedlers then otherwise: But for number, I suppose, there be three for two of those.

The Faulxbourges are round about the City, ruined and utterly desolate, except those of Saynt Germaynes, which was very fayrely builded, and was very neare as great as the faire Towne of Cambridge.

The benefit of this Towne is very great, which it hath by the Riuier, as by which all the Commodities of the Countrey are conueyed: Whereupon Monsieur d' Argenton reports of it, *C'est la ville, Commune que iamais ie reissee enuironée de milieux pais et plantueux;* C. 15.

Of all the Townes that euer I sawe, it is enironed
with the best and fertilest Countrey:

And he there reports, that for twenty moneths that he was Prisoner, he saw such an infinite company of Boates passe and repasse, as but that he was an eyewitnesse, he would haue thought incredible, which he also after proues by the mayntenance of the three Armies of the three Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Guyenne*, and *Bretaigne*, which consisted of an hundred thousand men, against the Cittie of *Paris*, wherein

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Commiss.

Li. 15.

they had besieged Lewes the eleuenth, and yet neyther the Campe nor Towne had any want of victualls. *Faus bien dire qu'en ceste Isle de France, est bien assise cette ville de Paris, de pourvoir fournir deux si puissans hostis; car iamais nous n'auions faute de viures, et dedans Paris à grand penie s'apperceuient ils qu'il y eust iamais bien encheré que le pain, seulement d'un denier:* It must needs be graunted, that this Towne of Paris is excellently seated in the Isle of France, to be able to furnish two so great Armies: for we neuer wanted victuals; and they within Paris hardly found any thing the dearer, but onely bread, a denier vpon a loaf. The Sea floweth no neerer this City, then *Pont de Larche*, some 25. leagues off.

Some say, this Towne was builded in the times of *Amasias*, King of Iuda, by some reliques of the Trojan warre, and that it was called *Lutece* (a Luto) because the soyle in this place is very fatte, which is of such nature, as ye cannot wel get it out, it doth so staine: whereof they haue a By-word, *Il gaste comme la fange de Paris:* It stayneth like the durt of Paris. Other say, it was called *Paris* of (*Parresia*) a Greeke word, which signifieth (saith this Authour) hardiesse ou ferocite, valour or fiercenesse, alleadging this verle,

Idem.

Guil. Ar.
morianus

Et se Parrisis dixerunt nomine Franci,

Quod sonat audaces, &c. And the Franks called themselues Parrisiens, which signifieth valiant. And by this Etymologie would inferre, that the French is a warlike Nation. But he is much mistaken in the word; for it signifieth onely a boldnes or liberty of speach: which whether they better deserue, or to be accounted valiant, you shall see, when I come to speake of the Frenchmans humour and nature in generall. As for the

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the nature of the people of this Towne, their Histories taxe it of infinite mutinies and Seditions, matchable to the two most rebellious Townes of Europe, *Liege* and *Gant*; and yet this last is praysed in one thing, *Qu à la Haill.* li. 1. *personne de leur Prince ils ne touchent iamais*: That they neuer hat ne their Princes Person: Whereof the Bar-
ricades make *Paris* vnworthy. And *du Haillan* sayth of *Haill.* li. 3. them, whē they stood fast to *Lewes* the eleventh against the three Dukes abouenamed: *Iamais les Parriſiens ne tindrent un bon parti, n'y ne furent rien qui vallat, que ceste foyſſe la*: The Parriſians neuer held good ſide, nor neuer ſhewed any honesty but then onely. But I can reade no ſuch matter in *Commines*; for I well remember, that even then diuers of the chiefe of the Towne had practiced ſecretly with the enemy, and were vpon tearmes of concluding, when by the Kings wiſdome they were preuented.

The Armes of this City were giuen them, *Anno.* 1190. by *Philip le Bel*, who creating them a Preuost and Escheuins (like Office as our Maior and Aldermen) *Annoq.* *Leur donnaſſoient les armoiries, de gueules a une nauire d'argent, par.* le chef d'azur ſemé de fleurs de lys d'or: gaue them for Armes, Gules, a Ship Argent, and a Cheeſe ſeeded with Flower de Lys Or.

Ye ſhall heare the French brag, that their City hath bene besieged a hundred times by the enemy, and yet was neuer taken ſince *Cesar*: time. The reaſon whercof one of their beſt WRiters giues, Because (ſayth he) it is *Bodin.* *lib. 5.* very weake, and therefore alwayes compoundeth.

I compare *Paris* with *London*, thus: This is the greater, the fairer built, and the better ſituate: ours is the richer, the more populous, the more ancient: For I

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Castles hold antiquitie to be a great honour as well to great ci-
ties, as to great Families. Besides the Cities and Ports
of France, well fortified, there be also infinite numbers
of Castles and Cittadels (which the people alwaies call,
Nids de Tyrans, the nests of Tyrants, and the Prince he
Idem. l. 6. calles them *Chastivillains*.) Of the Castels the number
is therefore most great, and as vncertaine, by reason
that every Noble mans houise of any age, is built in de-
fensible maner, as you haue diuers times alreadie ob-
serued. An example of one for many hundreds, ye may
take that of *Rock-fors* belonging to the *Seigneur de la*
Tremouuille, which in these Ciuill wars endured a siege
& 5000. Canon shot, & yet was not take. It is iudged by
the wisest, that in great kingdomes, such as France, no
places should be fortified but the frontieres: after the ex-
ample of Nature, who armeth the heads and heeles of
Beasts, but neuer the Bowels nor middle part. For in-
deede the strength of a Countrey consists not in wal-
led townes, but in the vniited hearts of the people, as

Junius *Brutus* prooueth in *Lisue*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassus*: to
Tit. Linius which purpose the Poet also saith, Where there is con-
l. 1. cord among citizens, *Pulchre munitam esse urbem arbit-
Dion. Hal- rior*: I thinke that Towne excellently fortified. But
licar. l. 5. where discord reighth, *centuplex murus urbi non suffi-
Plant. cit*: An hundredfold wall is not sufficient. Where-
of it commeth, that Histories report of the Tartarians,
Aethiopians, and Arabians, that they haue no fortified
places; and it is sayd of *Prestle Iehan* the great king in
Affricke, that he hath but one in all his Empire: and
we in England, except frontier places, haue none but
his Maiesties.

The reasons against them are these: It makes the
inhabitants

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inhabitants cowards: and therefore *Licurgus* forbad the pluarcb. walling and fortifying of *Lacedemon*. Secondly, lest in *Licurg* the enemy being entred, the Countrey should stay and possesse himselfe, of some of these places, whereas other-
wise, he onely forrageth and harrieth the Countrey
an laway againe. Therefore *John Maria della Rovere*, *Guicci-*
Duke of *Urbino*, rased downe all his Castles (finding him-
selfe too weake to resist his enemie) and retired to *Ve-*
nicce, assuring himself, that *Duke Valentoni*, could not stay
there long, where there was no place to be kept: which
judgement of his, the euent well prou'd. For this cause
also, they of *Genoa*, after the battell of *Pavia*, where the *Bodin*. 1. 4.
French King was taken prisoner, hauing got the French
Garrison out of the *Lauferne*, ruined it to the very foun-
dation. So did they of *Siracuse* cause the Cittadell of *Plut. Ti-*
Arradine, the only refuge of the tyrant *Dionisius*. Lastly, *moleon*,
they giue occasions to the possessors, to rebell and v-
surpe, whereof, both all histories, and among these our
owne (where, it I be not mistaken, in King *Stephens* time
were rased eleuen hundred Castles) and these fortie
yeeres troubles in France do testifie.

There be some reasons for the hauing of these
fortified places, which I doe not conceiue so
good as these, except onely I shoulde graunt them
their Capitall Citie to bee fortified, and none
else.

For *Bodin* thinkes it great madnesse in a Prince, *Bodin*. 5.
to suffer his people to haue strong Townes, (e-
specially as here in France, where they will haue
no Garrison, but of their owne Citizens: the effect
whereof was well scene in the losse of *Amiens*) except

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the King haue therein a Cittadell to bridle them. Against which, many Cities in this Countrey pretend Priuiledges, as that of *Amiens*, and some haue bought the Cittadell of the King, to the intent to demolish it, as they of *Lions*; such eye-sores they bee heere in France. In such a Countrey as Italy, where there bee diuers Princes, fortified Townes are more needfull, where notwithstanding ye shall note, that no great *Signore* is euer made Captayne of the Cittadell, nor hath any league with the Gouvernour, whome they there call The *Podesta*, and therefore euery yere also these Offices are changed throughout the State of Venice, which at this day, is the most perfect Optimacy in the world; and the rather, because though the State be Aristocraticall, yet the execution of the Gouvernment is mixt, Offices being conferred, both vpon the one sort and other of the Citizens, which makes that perfitt harmony, whereof the diuine Philosopher so much speake-
pla. derep.
lib. 4.

Hail. li. 3. You must vnderstand, that heere in France, all Inhabitants of Cities, are lyable to the common charges of the fortification of their City, reparations of bridges, fountaines, highwayes, and such like. And because the richer sort should not leuy the money, and then keepe it to themselues, or employ as the list, they must giue information to the Chaunceller, of the necessity of the Leuy, and procure Letters Patents for the same, by authority whereof they gather the money, and vse it, yeelding after to the Kings Procureur their account.

And for their Watch and Ward, it goes by course, as in the Citie of *Emden*, and diuers other in those
Low

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Low Countries. As for Castles, the Seigneur, or Captain may not force Vassall (faire leguer, To watch and ward) except in frontier places, vpon forsayting of their estates. Ordon. ch. 6.

After this generall Survey of the Countrey it selfe, Go-
we must obserue something of the Government, where-
in I will not trouble you, with fetching their first Pe-
tition from beyond the Moone, as many of their His-
tories labour, nor by disputing the matter, whether it bee
true or no, that they came from *Troy*, into the Marishes
of *Mayni*, whence, after some small abode, they were
chaied by the Romane Emperour, into *Bauaria*, and af-
ter into Frankland, in Germany.

It shall suffice, that from hence, this people came in *Carion*,
to France, wherein all writers agree: For after the decli-
nation of the Romane Empire, when the *Ostrogothes*
conquered Italy, the *Visigotes*, Spayne; and the *Van-
dalles* Aftricke: then did the *Burgondiens*, and *Franconi-
ens* diuide this Countrey betweene them, conquering Hail. 5. 2
de l'efiat. it vpon the olden iuillines, the *Gauls*, who from *Cæsar*'s
time, till then, had not tasted the force of a forrayne
power.

The Government was vnder Dukes, till the yeere
480, when as *Pharamond* caused himselfe to be entitu-
led King. In this race it remained till 751, when *Pepin*
supprest his M^r. *Chilpericke* and vsurped. His line la-
sted till 988, when *Hugh Capet* gaue the checke to the
succession of *Charlemagnes* line (who was *Pepins* sonne)
and inuested himselfe with the Diademe. From him it
hath lineally descended by heires males to the house of
Valois, and for want of issue male in them, is now come
to the house of *Burbon*. In this space of time, you must

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obserue the three ages of France: Her child-hood, till *Pepin*: her manhood, till *Charles*: her olde age, till now. For in the first age, the Kings were like children, content to be taught by others in matters of Religion, (as then ye may note, that *Clouis* received the faith, and was baptiz'd) as also in matter of policy, they were content that others should beare the whole sway, and rule them also, such were the *Maires de palais*, wherof *Pepis* was one that usurped.

In their manhood they did like men, conquer king-domes, reliev: distressed Christians, ouercome Saracenes & Infidels, defend the Church against all assayles, as ye may perceiue by the History of *Charles* the great, and his successors.

Le Nove

Maill. 3.

And lastly now, in her old age she grew wise, erected Courts for iustice, made lawes and ordinances, to gouerne her inhabitants, wherein no Countrey in Europe hath excelled her: for so sayth my Author, *Il n'y a contre au monde ou la iustice soit mieux establie, qu'en la nostre*. There is no Countrey in the world, where Iustice is better establisched, then ours: which is true (but with this addition of a later writer,) *si l'ny en auroit assez trop* *et s'il estoient insuffisamment exerces*: If the Officers thereof were not too too many, & if their places were righte executed.

This was the reason why many wise men of the world did imagine, that this Feuer of the league, which was entred at *Peronne*, some 20. yeres since, against France, would haue shake the State, from a Monarchy, to an Aristocracy, considering, that in age nothing is more dangerous; and besides, it was now her climacterical yere of Gouernement (for this is the 63, King) though this

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this be but a curiouse and ill grounded conceit, as also that other of the pourtreicts of the Kings, in the Palace at *Paris*, where, because all the voyde places be fulfilled, they would needes coniecture, for sooth, or rather conclude, that there should be no moe Kings. But this is but an idle dreame, and presupposition; for in the Cathedrall Church of *Sienna* in Italy, all the roomes for the *Popes*, are filled vp long ago, euer since the time of *Martin* the 5, and yet notwithstanding, that Sea of *Rome* stil hath a *Pope*. But *Du Haillan* saith, that as vertue was the cause that this State rose fr̄ the ground of her base beginning, to this heighth; so Fortune hath beene the cause that she is not falne fr̄ that high pitch, to her first lownesse: For he can see no reason of her standing, considering these ciuill warrs, the difference of Religion, the ambition of houses, the conspiracies and reuoltes of the people, the true causes of falling: Therefore hee concludes, *La bonne Fortune nous a plus servis, que nostre vertu*. Hail. L. 2. ibid.
us: Good fortune hath helped vs, more then our owne vertue. But without so much talking of the good *Genius* and *bon-benr*, good hap of France, hee should haue ascribed the first cause to God, and the next to her Maiesse: but this French is euer a thankelesse people.

I must not force this Relation with many notes, of things here happening in former ages; it is both impertinent, and tedious, onely I would wish you note, that in 482. the Christian Faith was here received, and in the yeere 800. the Romane Empire hither translated.

Concerning the Countrey of France, the State is a Monarchy, the gouernement is mixt: for the authority

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of *Misieurs, Eschevins, Consuls, Jureurs, &c.* is Democra-
ticall: the Paires, the Counsels, the Parliaments, the
Chambers of Counts, the Generalities, &c. are Ari-
stocraticall. The calling of assemblies, giuing of Of-
fices, sending Embassages, concluding of Treaties, par-
doning of offences, ennobling of Families, legitima-
tion of bastards, coyning of moneys, and diuers other,
to the number of 24. are mereley Regall, called of the
Droits Royaux.

Haillan.
lib. 3.

And sure it is, that no Prince in Europe is a more per-
fect Monarch then he: for besides all these priviledges
named, as we say of the Parliament of *Paris*, that it hath
the prerogative to bee appealed vnto, from all other
Courts, which they call the (*Dernier ressort*, the last ap-
peale) so is it likewise true, that the King himselfe hath
the meere and absolute authoritie ouer this. For though
no Edict or Proclamation, no Warre or Peace which
he makes, bee good, without the consent and *Arrest* as
(they call it) of this Court: Yet true it is, that when he,
sending to them for their confirmation and ratifying
thereof, if at first they refuse, & send *Delegatz*, Deputies,
to his Majestie to informe him of their realons, and
humble sute to reuoke the same, he returnes them vpon
paine of his displeasure and depriuation of their Offices,
to confirme it. *Sic volo sic tubeo*, Such is my pleasure,
and absolute commandement.

Lawes. As touching the *Lawes of France*, we must know, that
most of the are grounded on the *Civil Law* of the Em-
peror: but so, as this State euer protesteth against the, so
far as they be good and equall: insomuch as in former
times it wasordeined, that he which alledged any Law
of *Instimian*, should lose his head. Of the Lawes here in
force,

Haillan.
lib. 4.

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force, some are fundamental, as they call them, and immortall, such as, nor King, nor assembly can abrogate: others are temporall, *Quemadmodum ex his legibus, que non in tempus sed perpetua utilitatis causa in aeternum late sunt, nullam abrogari fateor, nisi quam aut usus coarguit, aut status aliquis reip. inutilem facit: Sic quas tempora aliqua considerant leges, mortales (ut ita dicam) & ipsis temporibus mutabiles esse video:* I confess, none of those Lawes which are not *Temporary*, but established as eternall for the vniuersall good, are euer abrogated (such onely excepted as either vse findes hurtfull, or some state of the Commonwealth makes vnprofitable) so I see, that those Lawes that are applied to particular times & occasions, are mortall (as I may call them) and change times with change. And therefore one saith, *Quae in pace late sunt, plerumq; bellum abrogat, que in bello, pac: ut in nauis administratione, alia in secunda, alia in aduersa tempestate usi sunt: Warre commonly abolishith Lawes made in peace: and peace Lawes made in Warre: Euen as Mariners in guiding a Ship vse one course in faire weather, another in soule.*

Of the first sort I will onely remember you of two examples: the Law Salique, and that of Appennages. As for the first, they would needes make the world belieue that it is of great antiquitie, wherewith they very wrongfully tramped the heires of *Edward* the third, of their enjoying this Crowne of *France*, which to them is rightly descended by his Mother, and whose claime is still good, were the English sword well whetted to cut the Labels of this Law. Of which *Haillan* himselfe confesseth, that before the time of *Philip le Long*, 1321. *Haillan, I amois au paravant on n'en auoit oxy parler, la faisant (en ce lib. 3.*

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temps la) approuuer par tous les Seigneurs du royaume, lez uns par promesse, les autres par force et par menaces: The Law Salique was never heard tell of before this Kings time, who caused it to bee ratified by all the Nobles of his Kingdome, some by faire promises, and others by force and thretes. Hereupon they haue their proverbe, *Le royaume de France ne pent tomber de Lance en quenouille.* The Kingdome of France cannot fall from the Lance to the Distasse.

Some say, it is called Salique, of the *Saliens*, a people anciently inhabiting about the Ryuer of *Rhein*: but the likeliest is, that it comes of the two words, wherwith it begins (*Si aliqua*) and which are often repeated therein, as in many of our processes vpon some word therein vsed they take their names, as a *Scire facias*, a *Nisi prius*, a *Latitas*.

Touching that of Appennages, which is also a Law of great consequent for the Crowne (for by this the Domayne cannot bee aliened, and by the other, the Crowne cannot fall into the hands of strangers.) You must note, that this Law imports, that the yōger sonnes of the King cannot haue partage with the Elder, which *Ch.m. ord.* till the time of *Charlemagne* (when this was made) they might, they must onely haue *Appennage sans propriete*. By which Charter of Appennage is giuen all profits arising of the said *Appannes*, as Domaine, the hundreth, rents, rights of *Seigneurie*, parties *casuelles*, lots, sales, *hommages*, rights of *vassallage*, Forrests, ponds, ryuers, jurisdictions, patronages of Churches, prouisions, and nomination of Chappels, goods of Main-mort, fifts of Lands sold, and all other profits and commodities whatsoeuer, to retурne to the Crowne, for want of *heire*

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heire male: But the leuying of taxes and aydes, the minting of money, and all other things of regality reserved. Some are so curious to deriue this word from the Greekes, of *Appan, totum*, and *Agnon, sanctum*: Because, forsooth, the French returning from the holy Land by Greece, saw there the like course vsed, which they brought home with them. Others say, it comes of *Pain*, bread, because it was for their sustenance: much like the Lawe of the olde Romanes, for the maintenance of their daughters, to whome they allowed a yeerely pension out of their lands. But others say, it is derived from the Almaigne word (*Abannage*) which signifies a portion excluded from the rest, that, because they haue this particular allowance, they can make no claime to any other of the Princes states. This Appennage hath often beene so great, as it hath bred many inconueniences; as that of the Duchie of *Burgondie*, by *Charles* the fift, to his brother *Philip*, which did often after, much prejudice the Crowne of *France*. And that of the Duchie of *Normandie*, by *Leves* the eleventh, to his brother, which was after changed for *Guyenne*, and that againe for *Champagne*, and againe at last for *Berry*, whereabout were great troubles, for many yeeres in *France*, as by the Historic appeares. Oftentimes also the yonger brothers are content to take yeerely pensions, and quite their said Duchies or Counties holden in Appennage.

Plut. No.
P. 230.

Commissaries

Concerning the other sort of Lawes, in this Realme they are infinite, which argueth (*a consequente*) that they be ill kept: for *gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*: and (*ab Antecedente*) that the people of this Countrey haue beene ill enclined: for *euill maners cause good lawes*.

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These French lawes are too full of preambles, processes, interims, and prouisoies, as by all their ordinances & edicts appeareth, *Nihil mihi frigidius videtur, quam lex cum prologo: iubeat lex, non suideat*: There is nothing (methinks) colder, then a Law with a Prologue. Let a Lawe commatund, and not perswade. Of all these Lawes I will onely name you this one, *Quel la minorite du Roy soit assisee a vn Concile eslen par les Estats de France, auquel les Princes du sang doiuent tenir le premier lieu, et les estrangers eslois*: That the minoritie of the King shal be assisited with a Council, chosen by the States of France, wherein the Princes of the blood ought to holde the first place, and strangers to be excluded: which was enacted at *Toures*, by *Charles 8. anno. 1484.* I tell you of this, as of the true source and spring of all these late ciuil warres, because the Cadets of Lorraine by insinuation with the young Kings, *Frances the second*, and *Charles the ninth*, vnder the fauour of the *Q. Mother*, tooke vpon them to manage all publike matters at their owne pleasure, and thrust out the first Princes of the bloud of the house of *Burbon*. Whereupon *Navarre* and *Condie*, the Princes of this family, assisited by many of the French Noblesse, embarked themselues in the action of reformatting such an abuse, and displacing the *Gysard* out of this authoritie, tooke it vpon themselues, to whome it rightly belonged.

*A digres-
sion to the
Ciuell
Warres.*
*Der.
troubl.*

Of these ciuell broyles, I meane by way of digression somewhat to speake, to give you better taste thereof, as also to see in what miserable tearmes, this present King found the State, of whome, by order of this relation, I am next to remember: *La France a souffert sept guerres, et a veu six edicts de pacification, en leurs guerres ciuiles: France,* in

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in these ciuill broyles, hath suffred seuen warres, and
seen sixe Edicts of Pacification. The first was in sixty
three, at *Paris*: the second, in sixty seven, at *Longemain*:
the third in seenty, at *Paris*: the fourth in seenty sixe,
at *Tenuile* (when first began the League at *Peronne*:) the
fift, at *Postiers* in seenty seuen: the sixt in eighty one.
Not one of these Proclamations which was not broke,
& new flames of warre kindled; the imputation where-
of, the French Writers lay most vpon the *Q. Mother*, by *Hail. I.*
whom she is compared to *Fredegunde* & *Brunkalt*, two
damnable Queenes of France, and the Firebrands of
their time.

She came from the Family of the *Medices* in *Florence*,
in which City ye may note, that in three seuerall yeres
(but not much distant) were borne three seuerall Mon-
sters: *Alexander Medices*, that spoyled *Florence* of her
liberty, the fairest City in Italy: This woman, that ru-
ined France, the fairest Kingdome of Europe: And
Machiavell, that poysoned Europe, the fayrest part of
the world.

She bare too great loue to her old friends of *Lorraine*,
and too little to her young sonnes of *Valois*: her hate
was too hote to the reformed Religiō, and her care too
cold to reforme the State: She had too much wit for a
woman, and too little honesty for a Queen: for where
one is without the other, a little is too much.

Next her, are charged, the *Cadets* of *Lorraine*, in three
ages, the Grandfather, the father & child, and al of their
houses; for he that will rightly compare the times, shall
find, that the drift of the Count *S. Paul* in *Lewes* the 11. *Comminges*
time, was alone with this of the *Guises* in these late trou-
bles; namely, for that the warres only maintayned them

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in their greatness, and forced the King to stand in need of them, whereas the peace might be much prejudiciall to them, and bring them to their accounts, for many matters ill carried in their charges. Hereupon the *Counse* set on his King, to embarke himselfe in a warre, against so great an enemy, as the Duke of *Burgogne*: and these euers forced their Master, to war vpon his owne Subjects, against so good a cause as true Religion. And as he desired nothing lesse, then that the Duke should condescend to his Majestie, and so make a peace: so did these only wish, that they of the Religion might still stand stiffe in their profession. Likely also it is, that at the first, they did not so much as drea ne of obtayning the *Crowne*, as hauing fourre Princes, of the house of *Valois*, al yong, besides the house of *Barbon*, standing in their way: But when these, one after another, died, and the times grew so fauourable, through their popular carriage (the onely signe of an ambitious mind) as that all the eyes of France were bent vpō them, then they raysed their thoughts, as high, as the highest place, and the rather, because the Religion of the next Prince of the blood (who should bee serued before them) was so contrary to the general liking of the French State. Their only cause, they said, was Religion: but true it is, that *Hailan* saith, that Religion is only the cloke and pretext, *selon les esprits des paix, ou selon les menées et pratiques des grands, qui donnent ceste opinion aux peuples*: According to the humors of the country, or the driftes and practices of the *Grandies*, who possesse the people with that opinion.

And in another place, *Divisions sont comme fatales à la France, et entre les causes qui l'ont trouble toutes les fois qu'il a esté la division de grand, a esté la première et la principale*

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principale et tousiours couverte du nom du bien publique, et de la Religion : Divisions haue beene (as it were) fatall to France, and of all the causes of her trouble at any time, the diuision among the Grandies hath euer beene the first and principall, and alwayes cloaked with the name of the publike good and Religion.

The onely patterne and Mirrour, whome the last Duke of *Guise* folowed in these his dangerous detaignes for the obtaining of the Crowne, was *Pepin*, who to de- *Annal.*
pose his Master, and to preferre himselfe, found no way *Frans.*
more compendious, then to professe himselfe the Pro-
tector of the Church, and Rooter out of heresies. For
which good seruice, the *Romish Church* inuested him
with the Crowne of *France*, and hee gaue them many
Territories in *Italy*; both, large caruers of that which
was not their owne. But the vñ-
iust, as also the attempt it selfe, how souer they shadow
it with the colour of Religion. For *Nulla in ista causa vi- plu. Coris.*
deri potest, contra Remp. arm a capiendi: No cause of taking
armes against the State can seeme truely iust.

It is a pitifull spectacle, to see a happie State brought
to ruine by the diuision of her great ones: but when it
is wrought by such of the Nobilitie as are newly in-
franchised, and ennobled with all preferments, who were
but lately strangers, it is much more lamentable and also
insupportable. The three great States of *England*, *Spaine*, *Hollinsched*
and *France*, can instance herein, and give you examples *Turquet*
of *Piers Ganeſtow*, *Aluaro de Lna*, and this house of *Lor.* *Mfſto. de*
raine. These are they, of whom all the late writers com- *Spag.*
plaine. *Les François estoient lois* (speaking of former *Haill. 1.*
times) *vrays François, n'auoyent point succéle laïet de Lor-*
raine, qui denne les humeurs de toutes les sortes de Trakisens:

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The French were then trae French, they had not yett
sucked the milke of Lorrayne, which breedes humors
fit for all sorts of treasons.

And as it is sayd of *Lalain* a gallant Gentleman in
Commissaries his time, *Etois d'uerace, dont pens'en est trouue,*
qui n'ayent esté vaillans, & quasi tous morts en seruant
leurs Seigneurs en la guerre: He was of a race, whereof
few can be found that haue not bene valiant, and almost
all of them slaine in the warres in their Princes seruice.

So may we say of these, that it hath bin a valiant race,
and most of them haue dyed in the warres, but with
this difference, that it hath still beeene against the good
of their Countrey, howsoeuer they couered their trea-
sons with the vaile of *bien publique*: publique good: as
Idem. cap. 20. one saith of the Duke of Guyenne and Bretagne, *Mais*
enfin le bien publique estoit converti en bien particulier: But
in the end, the publique good was turned to priuate
profit.

The chiefest supporter of these Guisards, and that
still gaue oyle to the fire of this rebellion, was the King
of Spaine, who, (the comparison of the State of France
with the game of *Primero* saith) that he stood by and
looked on, following that Machiauillian maxime, or
lesson, which he had learned of the other *Philippe* of
Macedon, to suffer them to tuyne one another, as did
the Cities of Greece, and then himselfe to take the ad-
uantage, and winne all; for it is no question if Guise
had waine the game, but this would haue had the
rest. He had this aduantage also, while they were to-
gether by the eares, to be in quiet himselfe: for so saith
the principle in the Mathematickes, *Ce qui fait mouvoir*
altruy, est necessairement toujours en repos: That which
gives

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giues motion to other things, must needs it selfe be
in rest.

The third cause I impute (especially of the later
troubles) to the timorous nature and pusillanimity of
Henry the 3. *Ce qui donne volonté et moyens aux hommes Haill. 1.
de grands Esprits de conspirer contre leurs princes, et d'at-
tenter à l'urpatson de la coronne, est l'imbecillité et la neau-
tise d'iceux Princes :* That which giues both will and
meanes to men of great Spirits, to conspire against
their Princes, & attempt the usurping of their Crowns,
is the weakenesse and worthlesenesse of the Princes
themselves. For in his time, the Crowne of France *Commines*
was like the daughter and heire of Burgogne: and the
poore King, like the crafty Duke, made euery wooer
and suiter that she had, beleue that he should speede:
the King, for feare lest by these corriuals hee should be
brought lower; the Duke, in hope by intretaining them
all, to haue their aydes to raise himselfe higher. Marry,
neither of them would gladly, while they liued, that
this faire daughter should be married.

It is a dangerous thing in a State, when the King *Haill. 3.*
dare not punish the ambitious desseignes of his Sub-
iect: *Voyla le mal-heur d'un siecle miserable & iniuste, de
cognoistre l'iniustice, & ne l'oser dire; n'y en faire la puni-
tion: voila comment les Princes souuent cognoissent le mal &
ingeant au contraire, donnent l'absolution, estant à cela con-
traints par le temps: aux quels le plus souuent par leur in-
iustice ils donnent cette licence, & apres en reçoquent les pre-
miers, le mal: Behold the mischiefe of a miserable and
vniust time; to discerne the offence, and not to dare
take notice thereof, nor punish it. Behold how Princes
doe often knowe the mischiefe, yet giuing sentence*

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quite otherwise, (being enforced by the necessity of the time) absolute them, whom they themselves first emboldened by their owne vnjust proceedings, and are after, the first to smart for it.

This emboldened the *Guise* to drive his King out of *Paris*, whence (they say) to saue his life, he fled in his doublet and hose, and one boote off for haste: so that *Poet, Fran.*, now was verified the prophesie of *Fran. I.*

Le Roy François ne fallit point,

Quand il predit que cencx de Guise

Mettroyent les Enfans en purpoint,

Et sen pauvre peuple en che mises:

King Francis prophecide aright,

That Guizes race would strip his race

Into their hose and doublet light,

And's people to their shirts vncase.

In this attempt he so farre engaged himselfe, and so irreconcileably incurred the kings hate, as he must either be *Roy on ruyné, Casar aut nullius, Corona aut Cadauer.*

Wherein he was much mistaken, to thinke againe to winne his good opinion, and by this meanes to expect a better houre. A man must never trust a reconciled enemy, especially his King, against whom when yee drawe the sword, ye must throw the scabberd into the riuier. He felte the smart of this, not long after at *Bloies*,

Plus, Solon where, in the assembly, like *Casar* in the Senate, he was dispatched. In *Solons* time there were first the *Cilominians* & the *Banditi*, and after one of these was extinct, there arose a diuision of three heads: they of the plaines would haue an Optimacy; they of the mountaine, a Democracy, and they of the seacoast, a mixt State. So in the Duke of *Guises* time, there was a diuision of Catholikes and Protestants: but after his death, the

monster

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monster grew to haue fourre heads. The *Royaux*: the *Huguenois*: the *Ligueurs*: the *Confrers du petit Cordon*: these last were a fraternity, who had cōspired to bring in the Spaniard, their chiefe head were the *Seize of Paris*, (A Councell of 16, the most seditious Burgers of the Towne) who strangled M. *Brisson* a President of the Parliament, the rarest man of his time, and two other Lawyers, the one an Aduocate, the other a Procuror: of these the Duke *de Mayenne* hanged fourre for their labour. Ech of these had diuerse driftes: The *Royaux* were for the King, and then for the extirpation of the Religion. The *Huguenots* were likewise for the King, and then for the libertie of their conscience. The *Leaguers*, for the ruine of the King, and house of *Burbon*, and then for the reducing of the land to an Aristocracy, which they meant to share among themselues: The *Confrerie* were against the King, for his title; against the Protestants, for their Religion; against the *Leaguers*, for their partage: and like Traitors fallys hearted, or Frenchmen truly Spiniolized, complotted only how to bring in their Patron & Benefactor the King of Spaine. See here the many-headed Hidra that rauaged alouer France. See here that France, where neither her King could saue his life frō the impoisoned knife of a bloody harted Frier, nor the people their goods, frō the pillage of a bloody hāded Soldier. See here the times, when the 3. fayre daughters of *Themis*, *Ennomis*, *Epiukia*, and *Eirene*; Law, Equity, and Peace, are banished their native Country. See here a Country in an extacie, distraught in her selfe, and transported out of her selfe, ready to fall into a falling sicknesse, like the soule of a distempered man, where neyther *Neys*, the King, is obeyed;

22.1.6.

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nor *Logos*, the Law, obserued; nor *Epithamia*, the people, gouerned, by reason that *Thymos*, which possesteth the heart (& therefore I interpret the *Gensilarmes of France*) through an ambitious thought to rule, or a deuillish desire to reuenge, hath robd the one of his authority, the other of her force, and giuen the third the reynes
Hisp. cuius of Liberty to doe what they list. *Mon Dieu gens sans
dam Ora-
discourse: O gens aveugle: Nation sans conseil et sans pru-
deince! O people voyde of iudgement: O blinded people:
O Nation without Counsell, and without wisedome! See here a people, among whom it was a flan-
der to doe well, and glorie to excell others in cruelty:
therefore saith a Poet of theirs,*

*Siles manuauit François, sonz bien recompensez,
Si les plus gens de bren sonz le moyns aduancez:
Soyons un peu meschant, on querdonnel l'offence,
Qui n'a point fache de mal, n'a point de recompence.*

If the worst Frenchmen now are best of all rewarded,
If the most honest men are now the least regarded.
Let's turne Traytors awhile, this time rewards offices:
Who hath no mischief wrought, can get no recōpēces.

See here a Tragedy, where were no lookers on, but
all Actors, where, for the most part, the poorer sort were
plagued: *Delirans Reges, plectuntur Achini:*

For dotages of Kings
The people alwayes wrings.

As for the great ones, they had a course many of them
to sauve their owne stakes, and get alio by the bargaine.
Sayth another,

*Pour estre bien venuz et faire nos affaires,
en ce temps facheux plein d'horribles miseres;*

Agnostic

Horat.

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Agnoſte mon amy, ſais tu que nous ferons?
Surprenons quelque place, et puis nous traiferons;
If we will thriue, and rise, and be much made of too,
In this most wretched Age, and this confiued State,
(*Agnoſtus*: my dear frenſ) know'ſt thou what we muſt
Let vs ſurprize ſome Towne, & then capitulate. (do?)

As yee haue heard of *Monsr. de la Chastré*, an Arch-Leaguer, who would not make his peace, nor render his Townes to the King, except hee might haue the Government of *Orleans*, and fifteene thousand crownes, which hee preſently enioyeth. Like capitulations were made with other of that faction, *Phebidas*, Generall of *Plut. Palo.* the *Spartane* forces, ſurprized vpon the *Thebanes* the Castle of *Cadmus*, without Commiſſion from the State: which Castle the *Lacedemonians* would not render, but fortified the place, and kept there a ſtrong Garrifon: and yet they diſcharged the Generall of his Office for this onely fact, and fined him at ten thouſand crownes: a ſtrange course, to puniſh good ſeruice; but this of *France* more ſtrāge, to reward ill ſeruice. It is, I confeſſe, good policie to condeſne the Traitor, and yet loue the Treafon: but to condeſne the Treafon, and reward the Traitor, I neuer but here heard of. But ſuch was the neceſſitie of the times: *Sic fuit in fatis*, So did the Fates ordeine. But theſe gayners were thoſe that betted by; for the chiefe Gameſters had their heeles blowne vp: the Duke of *Guife* ſtabbed at *Blois*; the Cardinall ſtrangled in the Castle: the Duke of *Parma*, poiyſoned at *Arras*: the Duke *Loyeneſe*, ſlayne at *Coutras*: the Duke *de Mayenne* ruyned at *Iuery*: the Duke *de Mercaure*, come in this March, who

G

lately

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lately marched afore his troupes in Bretaigne, *a capaill*,
with an erested countenance, now walketh vp and
downe Paris, like *Dionisius* in *Corinth*, *Capochino*, hanging
the head. This was iust such an *Hexarchie*, as *Charles*
Duke of Barres wished in France, who, had hee liued
till no v, had seene what hee wished. When *Mons.*
Durfe charged him, that he loued not France, but
sought by all meanes possible to disturbance the State
thereof: *Fush, sir, saith he, you are deceiuied, l'ayme*
Consciente. *mieux le bien du royaume que vous ne pensez, car pour un royaume*
qu'il y a se y en voudroy si: I wish better to the Kingdom
then you imagine, for one King that there is nowe, I
would there were halfe a dozen. All these, forsooth, a-
greed, that the Common-wealth was sicke and out of
temper, & ech one pretended with his Phisicke to cure
her. The D. of *Guise*, to ease the paine which was at the
hart, ment(as he doth, that giues the best remedy for the
tooth-ake, to pull them all out) to strike off the head: To
which purpose, at the Barucadoes of *Paris*, hee had the
King fast in the Castle of the *Louvre*, but yet most un-
wilely, hauing the bird in the cage, let him fyue away.

The *Cardinall*, that should by his calling haue mini-
stred the most gentle and lenitive kind of Phisicke, and if
it had beene possible, haue cured France with good
counsell, & prescribing a good diet, ministred nothing,
but corrosives, and bitter pilles of disdaine among the
Nobles.

The Duke of *Parma*, like a Doctor of good practise,
brings with him a whole shope ful of Phisicke, inough to
purge all France, hee applieth his receipt of the Low-
Countrey Souldiers, to ease her other malady: but the
weake stomacke of this Countrey could not brooke so
strong

22.

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strong an *ingrediens*, and therefore shée vomited them out againe, befole they had done the deed. The Duke *Joyeuse* like a desperat young Doctor, that would get credit in his trade, vpon his first patient, by putting all to the hazard, without vsing any preparatiues, or obseruation of criticke dayes, gives the potion, before *Monsieur Matignon* could come at him, who came with other good phisicke to assit him in this practise: but at that time, they lay, that *Mars*, a maleuolent Planet, was retrograde in *Arses*, or entring into *Tawus*: and so it shoulde seeme: for one of the King of *Navarres* troupes, called *Monsr. Taurin* (as they lay) gaue him a Pistolade in the head. *Joyeuse* was not so precipitate, to breake the Impostume before it was ripe, but the Duke *de Mayenne* was as much a dreamer to forflow the occasion: for whē his brother *Gnife* was stabbed, and all the great Cities reuolted to him (so then was shē sick at the hart) he shoulde then haue plyed, to haue applyed his medicines: but then had he his Phisicke to seeke: And after, when the party was pretily recovered, & began to refuse Phisick, (hauing a little relished the wholesome diet of good counsell) then comes he in such haste, that hee brake his bottels by the way, and so was a loser by the bargayne.

As for *Monsieur de Mercaure*, hee playd the good Kitchin Doctor, of whome *Rablaire* speakeith, who gaue *Rab. L. 2.* his patient the necke and bones to tyre vpon, and kept the wings himselfe: for he left them all France, tyred and tewed, as bare as a birdes bone, and kept Bretaigne, one of the fattest wings of the Countrey, to himselfe, purposing to haue entituled himselfe Duke thercof. But these were all pretended Phisicians: the poore King *Henry the third* men wel indeed,

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but wanted skill, who found by experience, after hee had slaine the *Guise*, and left the rest of his house (that were then in action) how dangerous a thing it is, in matter of execution to doe it to the halfe, and that in ministring phisicke, a violent potion is not so dangerous, as one that is too weake, which onely stirreth the humors, and is not able to expell them. Among so many Physicians, we must needes haue one woman to looke to the patient: this was the *Queene Mother*, of whom and her Sonne *Charles 9.* that consented to the *Massacre of Paris*, we may say with the Poet:

Vergil.
Eglog.

Crudelis mater magis an puer improbus ille?

Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater:

Which hath poore France more riunde and vndone,
The cruell Mother, or her wicked Sonne?

A wicked Sonne was he,

A cruell Mother she.

This Queene, who, with the two other Queenes, with whom she is before compared, may be called the *Alecto*, *Tesiphone*, and *Megera*, the three Furies of France, in stead of being a Nurse, and cherisher of her Infants and family, which shee should haue bene by all law of reason, became a Stepdame, as shee was by nature, being an Italian: Who for more (as it is thought) then honest loue to the Guisard Doctors, desired still to haue her people kept loue and sickly, that they might be aduanced by their practise. These were they that left France in such pitifull taking, vnder a false pretext of reformation of the State; as we might well say of it, as is said of the abandoned French *Commissaries* fable in *Leuens 11.* his time, *Il ne sçanoit à quel Saint se vœuer, se tenoit comme pour perdu:* He knew not to what Saint

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Saint to vow himselfe, but held himselfe for a lost man: or as their prouerbe is here, *Il ne sçanoit de quel bois faire ses flesches: He knewe not of what wood to make his arrowes.*

But leauing France for a while, in this grieuous sicknesse (till the Hercules that now reignes, conquered this monstrous *Hidra*, and like a skilfull *Esculapius*, recouered her of this pestilent feuer) ye may obserue this one *Epi-phonema* heere necessarily employed, namely, That *Di-
vision in an Estate, is the most compendious way to her downe-
fall: Discordia res magna dilabuntur*: By discord great matters melt away to nothing: as hath well appeared by this great State of France.

Here is also a good lesson for other to beware by:

Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet: *Horat.*

The burning of your neighbours Towers

Concernes you neare, next turne is yours.

And as *Rablaies* saith, *vn fol enseigne bien vn sage:* *Rabla.*

A foole may teach a wise man wit. And if you would haue yet more instances of the miserable effects of Fa-
ctions, read *Gucciardine*, and you shall bee plentifully *Gucciard.*
furnished: as with the *Colonna*, and *Vesins* in Rome; the *lib. 4.*
Bianchi and *Neri* in Florence; the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* in

Genoa: and so almost through every particular Citie: *Macbianel*
and in generall ouer all Italy, the *Guelphi* and *Ghibellini*. *ibid. flor.*

¶ Here was also one here in *France*, about no greater
cause then a matter of loue, betweene *Orleans*, and *Bur-
gogne*. And we had one in *England*, about no smaller
a matter then the *Crowne* (*impatientes consortis erant, Commines
maiestas & amor:*)

Both Maiestic and loue,
Dono Corriuals loue.

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Betweene the houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, wherein
Commines sayth, were betweene three and fourescore of
the bloud slayne. How true that is, I remember not,
Holinshed, but as I take it, there were fought ten battels betweene
them, one hundred Barons & Knights slayne, ten Prin-
ces, Dukes and Earles, and an hundred thousand nau-
tall English.

Virgil.

Animus meminisse borret;

My mind doth tremble yet
But to remember it.

That diuision was the onely cause, why we not one-
ly lost all we had in France, but also the meanes to re-
couver all which wee ought to haue had: for in those
Commines brought to so lowe an elbe, as one sayth, *Dieu fit ce bien*
Cap. 27. *en ce temps-la, que les gueres & dissensions d'Angleterre esloyent*
encores en nature les uns contre les autres: So may they
now thanke God and our late Queene, *The Nurse of*
Peace, and refuge of the afflicted, who (as is sayd of the
great Earle of *Warwicke*, That he thought it as great an
honour to make a King, as to be a King) to cancell with
the Speares poynct the forged law of the *Salians*, tooke
not such oportunity, but raysed the afflicted lownesse
of the delolate King of *Diepe*, to the peaceable posses-
sion of the great Realme of France.

But it is a thing euer obserued in great States and
Kingdomes, that they neuer rise to any greatnessse,
except in their rising they meet with many lets, and
are sometimes euen brought to such lowe tairmes,
as they are thought past all hope; as *Athens*, by the
Persians; and *Rome* by the *Gauls*: the like is to be laid
of great Princes; as of *Edward* the fourth of Eng-
land,

The view of France.

land, and this *Henry the fourth of France*, of whome
wee may truely report, as *Plutarch* doeth of *Camillus*, *Plut.Cam.*
Si Camillus n'eust este perdu, Rome ne se fust pas retrouue: If
Camillus had not bene lost, Rome had not bene found a-
gaine. Possidonius calles Marcellus the (sword) and Fa-
bis the (buckler) of Rome: but we may call this King The
both the one and the other to France: to one, to cut King.
off all disturbers of the State; the other, to defend his
Subiects in the libertie of their conscience, and enjoy-
ing of peace. This office he now executes in his quiet
reigne; that other he vsed in time of the ciuill warres,
when as alwayes they of the Kings part sent for his aide
to the suppression of the Leaguers, though after that
done, they cared not for him. So saith *Plutarch* of *The-
misticles*, *Les Atheniens n'y honoroyent, n'y ne l'estimoy-*
ent point en temps de paix, mais quand il leur suraenoiel
quelque orage de guerre, & qu'ils se vroient en danger, ils
recourreycnt à luy: ne plus ne moins qu'on fait à l'ombre d'un
Platane, quand il s'ruient vne soudaine pluye, & puis apres
quavale beau temps est venu, on l'esbranche & luy coupe l'os
ses rameaux: The Athenians neither honoured, nor
esteemed him in time of peace: but when they were
ouertaken with any storne of warre, and that they
sawe themselues in danger, then they had recourse
to him; as men vs: to runne in a suddaine shower
to the shelter of a Plane tree, and as soone as it is
faire weather againe, they breake and cutte off his
branches.

This King then, of whom now by course I am to
relate, is about 48 yeeres of age, his stature small, his
haire almost all white, or rather grised, his colour
fresh and youthfull, his nature stirring and full of life,

The view of France.

like a true French man. One of his owne people describes him thus, *De son naturel il est si extremement vif et actif qu' à quoy qu'il s'adonne, il s' y met tout entier ne faisant sansuis gueres qu' une seule chose à la fois. De son dire une longue delibération avec un faict pressé cela luy est malaise. Le faire et le deliberer se rencontrent en mesme temps. Mais aux conseils qui ont trait de temps à la verité, il a besoigne d' estre soulage. Vne promptitude admirable d' esprit. Aux affaires de la Justice, des finances, aux négociations estrangères, aux dépêches, à la police d' estat il croist les autres, il ne s' en mestre pointz. He is of such an extremely liuely, and actiuue dispositiōn, that to whatsoeuer he applyes himselfe, to that hee entirely employs all his powers, seldom doing aboue one thing at once. To ioyne a tedious deliberation with an earnest and pressing affayre, he cannot endure: Hee executes and deliberates both together. But in Coun- cels that require tract of time, to lay the truth, hee hath neede of helpe. He hath an admirable sharpnesse of wit. In affayres of Justice, of his Reuenues, forrayne Nego- tiations, Dispatches, and gouernment of the State, hee credites others, and meddles little himselfe.*

He sayth there farther, that though by his Phisiognomy, his fashion & maner of behauior, ye would iudge him leger and inconstant, yet is no man more firmly constant then he. He confesseth it were hard for him, not to be sparing, considering the profuse and lauish spoyle that his predecessor made before him: yet to salue the matter, he makes this difference, *That the other gaue much to few, this gives a little to many. If you remem- ber when we saw him play at dice, here in Orleans, with his Noblesse, he would euer tell his money very precise- ly, before he gaue it backe againe.*

I will

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I will not spare in this discourse (which is onely for your selfe priuate) to speake the trueth, though of a King : we are here in a Country, where ye daily heare his owne Subiects speake of him more liberally.

And besides, his Maiesie hath generally this commendation, which is very laudable in a Prince, he can endure that any man should tell him the truth, though of himselfe. Which I will interpret to wisedome, though perhaps some will impute it to a facility of nature. Concerning this thrifte vertue then of sparing, we must note that he is a very good mesuager. *Il fait d'argent avec ses dens*: He makes money with his teeth, saith the Frenchman, meaning his sparing of great and superfluous expence at his table. And for his giftes, wee may call him by an *Antiphrasis*, as *Plutarch* sayth they vsed to call *Antigonus* in scorne (*doson*) that is, *qui donnera*: *pour ce qu'il promettois tousiours & jamais ne donoit*: *One that will give: because he alwayes promised, but neuer performed.*

For my part, I thinke he giues S. P. Q. R. not *Sens sui populus Romano*: that is, to all sorts of people but *Si Peu Que Rien*, so little, as scarce any at all. They say, that the chamber of Accounts, is to examine the Kings gifts: and if they find any vnmeasurable, to shorten them: to which purpose, there is written in great letters in the same court, *Trop donné soit répété*: Let gifts too great be revoked. It should seeme hee saues them this labour. Such a parsimonious sparer was *Lewes* 11. of whom in the said chamber of Accounts (as Bodin saith) it is recorded, that he wore a greazy hatte, and clothes of the coursest stoffe; and there likewise yee shall find a reckoning of 20. *sols*: that is, *ii.s. sterling*, for

Bod. li. 6.

The view of France.

a new payre of sleeues to his olde dublet: an another of 15. deniers, that is, three halfe-pence, for grease to liquor his bootes. This was he, that made his Taylor his Herald of Armes, his Barber his Ambassador, and his *Commynes* Surgeon his Chancellor, of whom *Commynes* reporteth many vertues, & as many faults, and yet it should seeme, that *Commynes* his seruant would not tell all; for so sayth another of the French Historians, discoursing impartially of this *Lewes*, *Nous auons librement dit ce que Commynes n' a ose et volu dire, et ce que les autres n' ont seen*: We have freely spoken what *Commynes* durst not, nor would not speake, and what others knew not. Though he himselfe protesteth, that he left none of his trumpeteries, and double dealings, vntreuealed, *Non pour en user mais pour en garder*: Not to practise, but to prevent the: As we desire to know the poyson, in the Apothecaries shop, from his other good drugges, not to vse, to the hurt of others, but to shunne, for the safety of our selues.

Q. Mother And howsoeuer *Haillan* taxe him of impartialitie, of *Commynes*, true it is, that the *Q. Mother* did not like him, of all others: For (said she) *hee hath made as many Heretikes in Policy, as euer Luther made in Religion, by discouering the secrets of State*: Which should be kept as secret, as the Caball of the *Jewes*, or verses of the *Druides*. But neither the sparing of this Prince, that now raigneth (of whose vertues I will presently speake) nor the faults of *Lewes* the 11. make them the onely two Kings of this Realme, taxable aboue the rest: For one of their writers layth in general, that France hath fatally beeene subiect to this, *malheur (defaster) to haue Kings, imbecilles et estropiez de l' entendement, (weake and lame in iudgement.)* He reckoneth vp many, as *Charles the great, a paillard (a wencher:)*

Pepin

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Pepin a usurper, *Lewes the first lasche es mol*, (faint-hearted, and effeminate) and after these three other Charleses, the *balde*, the *grosse*, & the *simple*, which no doubt, if they had deserved better Epithites, should haue had them: Insomuch as one concludeth of the good Kings of France, as *Suetonius* did of the Princes of his time, *Se pounoyent bien Suetonius.* *touts grauez en un anmeur*; they might al be grauen in one ring. But I had rather conclude with *Bedin*, *There is no Prince without his fault*. *Bed. 1.5.* Howbeit those few that are in this Prince, are recompenced with many very heroicall and princely *vertues*, both of body & mind. For those of the mind, let me only commend the excellency of wit, and suddennesse of answere, whereof wee may take acknowledgement in these three, which I wil here recount, answerable in my opiniō, to any of those Apophthegms of the olde Kings, or Philosophers, which history hath commēded to vs. At his being here at *Orleans*, this Iune last past, the Maior and Burgeles of the Towne came to his Maiestie, to desire they might bee eased of certayne extraordinary taxes and impositions, wherewith in the time of the league, they had been burdened by *Mons. de la Chastre*, their Gouvernour. Saith he, *M. de la Chastre vous a liguez, qu'il vous desligue*: *M. de la Chastre* hath tide you, let him vnyte you. At his being at the siege of *Amiens*, amongst others of the Noblesse, which he summoned to that seruice, he sent also for the *Count Soissans*, a Prince of the bloud, & one of the rarest Gentlemen of France, to whom the King giues (as is said) 5000. Crowns pensiō. The *Counts*, at that time discontented, returned the King answere, that he was a poore Gent. & wanted meanes to come to that seruice, as became one of his birth & place, being a Prince of the bloud, & Peere of France: he therefore most humbly craued pardon, and that hee would

The view of France.

pray for his Maiesties prosperous successe, which was all he could doe. Well, saith the King, *D'autant que les prières ne servent point sans ieusne, il faut qu' il ieusne de la pension de ses 5000. escus:* Seeing prayer is not acceptable without tasting, my couzin shall hereafter fast from his pension of iue thousand Crownes.

After the death of the Duke of *Guise*, when almost all France had revolted from the late King, & like a poore (*Roy d' Iudicis*) as the French prouerbe is, he was chased of them of the League, from all places of France, to *Tours*, and was there, as it were besieged of *Charles Duke of Mayenne*: After that this King present came thither with his small forces, to the distressed Kings succour, the King of France, whose name was also *Henry*, would needes perswade *Henry King of Navarre*, with those small forces, which they both had, to march out of the Towne, and encounter the Dukes forces, who were double the number. *Sirs (saith hee) ne hazardons point un double Henry contre un Carolus:* Let vs not play a double *Henry*, against a *Carolus*: (that, is a peece of gold, of 14 shillings, and this, a peece of brasle onely of 10. deniers.) For his valour and princelike courage, it is such, to say truly, as neuer any of his Predecessors, Kings of France, were matchable to him, who, for the space of almost thirty yeeres, hath, as one would say, neuer beene vnarmed, without his foote in the stirrop, and his lance in the rest, hath beene himselfe in person, the formost in all perils, and last out of the field: A Prince not long in the resoluing, but once resolued, quicke to performe, and himselfe always, one in the execution; though perhaps some wil taxe this hazarding of his owne person, as a matter of imputation, and bet-
ter

27
The view of France.

ter befitting a young Prince of *Navarre*, then a great King of France. For as I read, *Epaminondas* was fined *Plut. Ep.* for hauing beeene too forward, & seruynge without good armour, after a great victory, which he had vpon the *Lacedemonians*.

This forwardnesse indeede is most honourable, and prayse worthy in all Nobilitie, and Commaunders whatsoeuer, excepting onely the chiefe. *Iphicrates* an *Athenian Captayne*, sayd, the *Vancouvers*, reembled the hands, the *Gensdarmes*, the feet, the *Batallion* on foot, the brest, and the *General*, the head: which (laith hee) must best be armed, and carefuller bee garded. And therefore, the answere of *Callicratidas* is disliked, who, when it was tolde him, that in the battell hee was ready to giue the enemy, he should haue great care of his own person, for that the *Sacrifices* had foreshewd some danger: *Sparte dis il ne depend pas d'un homme seul*: *Sparte* depends not vpon one man alone. This *Plutarch* repro- *Plut. Pel.* ued in *Pelopidas*. And *Homer* in his descriptions, makes alwayes *Achilles*, *Ajax*, and the best and chieffest Commaunders, best armed:

Stetit sub Aiakis clipeo septemplice tectus:

Homer.

The shield of *Ajax* seuen-fold

Did shrowd him safe, and make him bold.

And the lawes of *Greece* punished that Souldier, that threw away his buckler. But I will end this discourse with the answere of *Timostheus*, to *Chares*, a Generall, talkynge of his many woundes of the body, and hackes in his shield: and I (quoth he) quite contrary, am ashamed of this, that when I besieged *Samos*, I came so neere the walles, that an arrowe from the Towne lighted hard by me: For that *Je m'estois trop aduance en icune homme*,

The view of France.

*& bazarde plus temerairement, qu'il ne conuenoit à Chef d'v-
nes si grosse armee :* I went too farre, like a forward yong
fellow, and hazzarded my selfe more rashly, then be-
came the Generall of so great an Army. For the chiefe
Commaundier is the moity of the whole force.

When one told *Antigonus*, that the enemy had more
shipping then he, at the Ile of *Andros*: *Et moy dis-til
ponz combien de vaissieux conte tu?* I pray you, for how
many ships count you me?

If then one Generall be in stead of many ships at sea;
and many troopes at land, it behoueth he be carefull to
keepe those forces well (that is, him selfe) if he will doe
his Countrey good seruice. You must note therefore,
that there is no man so great by birth, or Noble, whom
it well becommeth not to be as valiant and forward as
the best, euuen though hee were a King: and indeed the
greater hee is, the more his honour is engaged to be
valiant; prouided alwayes, that hee bee not the chiefe
Commaundier of the Army. As the King of Boheme
dyed in the field, on the French Kings side, fighting
against the English in France, with more honour, then
the French King *Francis the first*, at *Panie* in Italy,
where, by his too great forwardnesse, hee was taken
Prisoner.

Therefore it is that one saith, *vn bon & sage Gene-
ral doit mourir de vieleſſe*: A good and discreet Ge-
nerall should dye of age.

But to returne to the King. Hee is naturally very af-
fable and familiar, and more (we strangers thinke) then
fits the Maiesty of a great King of France. But it is the
Bodin. li. 4 fashion of this Countrey of France (as *Bodin* sayth)
though he seeme much to misse-like it, and preferreth
the

*Vigner.
bib. hist.*

The view of France.

the fashion of England, Suedon and Poland, where the Princes haue more Maiesty and reuerence among their subiects : For as *Plutarch* sayth, *Cest bien difficile de plaire. Peris maintenir une seuere grauité pour garder sa reputation, en se laissant familiarerement hauster à tout le monde*: Tis a hard matter for a man to keepe a seuere grauity for the vp-holding of his reputation, if he familiarize himselfe with euery body. Wherupon he there sheweth, how retyredly *Persicles* liued from the common view of the vulgar sort. So we likewise reade of the Kings of Botny, *Aethiope*, *Tartary*, the grand Signor himselfe, and the great Duke of *Moscouy*, that they seldome come abroad in publike to be seene of the people. We may therefore say of the Frenches liberty, as *Artabanus*, Lieutenant General to *Xerxes*, said to *Themistocles*, *Quant plus Themistocles a vous autres Grecs, on dit que vous estimez la liberte et l'egalite sur toutes autres choses : mais quant à nous entre plusierns autres belles constumes et ordonnances que nous avouons, celle-la nous semble, la plus belle de reuerer et adorer nostre Roy, comme l'image de Dieu de nature, qui maintient toutes choses en leur estre, & leur entier*: Tis layd, that you Greeks aboue all things esteeme liberty & equality: but among many other our excellent customes & ordinances, wee iudge this to be the best, to reuerence and adore our King, as the Image of the God of nature, that maintaynes all things in their being and perfection. And we may wel inferre as *Haillan* doth, *Familiaritas parit contemptum*, *Terreneo*, and *contemptus, coniurationem*: *le mesprise est la cause de Haillan, coniurations contre le Prince*: Familiarity breeds contempt, and contempt, treason.

You saw here in *Orleans*, when the Italian Commedians were to play before him, how himselfe came whi-

The view of France.

fling with a small wand to scowre the coast, and make place for the rascall Players (for indeed these were the *Terence, Regem sa- militarem matus.* worst company, and such as in their owne Countrey are out of request) you haue not seene in the Innes of Court, a Hall better made: a thing, me thought, most derogatory to the Maiesty of a King of France.

And lately at *Paris* (as they tell vs) when the Spanish Hostages were to be entartayned, he did Vsher it in the great Chamber, as he had done here before; and espying the Chayre not to stand well vnder the State, mended it handsomly himselfe, and then set him downe to giue them audience.

His Pedigree. It followeth, I speake of his descent and Pedigree; wherein you shall see hee is lineally descended of the house of *Burbon*, from *Robers*, Earle of *Clermont*, yonger sonne to *Lewes*, surnamed the Saint, from whome (for default of heires males in the house of *Valois*, descending of *Philip le hardi*, the elder brother) hee is now rightly entituled to the Crowne of France. The lineall descent of this house of *Burbon*, whose word is *Espe- rance* (Hope) is this:

Saint

~

The view of France.

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His Pedi- gree. It followeth, I speake of his descent and Pedigree; wherein you shall see hee is lineally descended of the house of *Burbon*, from *Robert*, Earle of *Clermont*, yonger sonne to *Lewes*, surnamed the Saint, from whome (for default of heires males in the house of *Valoiss*, descending of *Philip le hardi*, the elder brother) hee is now rightly entituled to the Crowne of France. The lineall descent of this house of *Burbon*, whose word is *Espe- rance* (Hope) is this:

Saint

Saint Lewes had two sonnes, namely,

1

Philip le Hardy, King of France.

You may obserue in this waste space of paper, that in the yeere 1328. Philip, who was sonne to Charles, Count of Valois, came to the crowne, by the name of Philip the sixth of Valois: since when, all the Kings of this elder house are call'd (de Valois) not that it is the sur-name of their Family, which most writers, and eu'en the French themselves haue thought, Haillan, lib. 3. d' Estat.

2

Robert, Earle of Cleremont, married to Beatrice, daughter to Archibald of Bourbon.

Lewes, Count of Cleremont, & first Duke of Bourbon, married to Mary, Countesse of Heynalt.

Iaques, Duke of Bourbon, maried to Iane de S. Paul.

John, Duke of Bourbon, Count of March, maried to Katherin, Countesse of Vendosme.

Lewes of Bourbon, Count of Vendosme, maried to Iane of Lauall.

John of Bourbon, Count of Vendosme, and Isabel his wife.

Francis of Bur. Count of Vendosme, to Mary of Luxembroughe, Countesse of S. Paul.

Charles of Eurbon, to Francis of Alencon.

Anthony of Burb. King of Navarre

Francis Du. King of Anguie.

Charles Card of Burbon.

John, Du. of Ang.

Marquerite maried to the Duke of Berri.

Lewes of Bur. Prince of Berri.

Francis of Bur. Count of Vendome, to Mary of Luxembroughe, Countesse of S. Paul.

Charles of Bourbon, to Francis of Alencon.

Anthony of Burb. King of Nauarre.	Francis Du. of Anguie.	Charles Card of Bourbon.	John, Du. of Ang.	Marguerite maried to the D. of Nener.	Lewes of Bur. Prince of Conde.
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Henry 4. K. of France & Nauarre, 3. base children.	Katherine, Princessse of Nauarre, now presently to be marriaed to the Prince of Lorraine.
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Caſar D. de Lan- dosme.	Henryette a daughter.	Alexander, Count de Foix.
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Henry, P. of Conde.	Francis, P. of Conty.	Charles, Count of Soiffons.
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Henry Prince of Conde, heire apparent to the Crowne of France.
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Now yee ſee from what Anceſtors he is come: yee muſt alſo obſerue what *His* iſſue is come of him. In the vnfotunate and inhumane maſſacre at *Paris*, where in the olde Admirall, the greateſt Souldier in France, and many thouſand of other of the Religion were muſtered, the ſame time was this King muſried to *Marguerite de Valois*, daughter to *Henry the ſecond*, and ſiſter to the laſt King: With her theſe many yeres paſt, he hath not liued, neither hath by her any iſſue. I haue heard, the reaſon of their liuing apart, is her incontinencie. By Madame *Monceau* his Miftriffe, whome of late he hath made Ducheſſe of *Beaufort*, hee hath three children liuing: but by reaſon of their iſſeitimation and incapaſitie to ſucceeđe, the apparency of Inheritance as yet bideth in the young Prince of *Condie*, a towardly Gentleman, of muſh hope, and very well fauoured, of the age of 11. yeres, whome ye ſaw at *S. Maur*.

Concerning

29
The view of France.

Concerning the Coronation of the Kings of *France*, I read, that in the first race, they vied no other solemntie, but onely to lift him vp vpon a shield, and cary *Coro-him about the Campe*, crying, *Vive le Roy*: God saue nation. the King: for thus *du Hasillan* out of *Gregory de Tours re*-porteth of the crowning of *Clavis*, the first that was christned. Since in the yeere 1179. *Philip Augustus* *His* ordained the Coronation to be alwayes at *Rhemes in Champaigne*: for before that time, they were crowned (but not here) as *Lewes the Grosse* at *Orleans* 1009. *Pepin* at *Soissons*, and *Charlemagne* at *S. Denis*. And since then also, vpon occasion, they change sometimes the place, as ye see in this King for example, who was crowned at *Chartres*.

The ornaments heretofore vsed at this solemnization, are these: A great crowne of gold, wherewith he is crowned: a leſlie crowne, which he beares that day at dinner, made by *Philip Augustus*. The Camisoles, Sandales, Tunicke, Dalmaticke, and Mantel of bluse Satten, made by *Henry 2*, who also garnished of new, the olde Crownes, the Scepter, the Sword, the Spurres. All which were ordinarily kept in the Church of *S. Denis*: whence in these late ciuill warres, they were taken by the League, and money made of them. *La Ligue un* *Hail. l.3.* *monstre insatiable, un goaffre qui deouvre tout, un feu qui consome tout, un torrent qui ruine tout, a volle, brise, cesse, fondu, tous ces ornements royaux*: The League, a Monſter that eates all, a Gulfe that deoures all, a fire that consumes all, a Torrent that ruines all, hath stollen, bruized, broken, melted all these Royall ornaments.

The King of *France* present hath made newe ornaments for the Coronation, which you saw at *S. Denis*.

The view of France.

The Princes and Peeres of France haue these Offices
Uail. li. 3. in that solemnite. The *Archbishop* of *Rbemes* doth anoint him King. The *Bishop* of *Laon* beares the Ampulle. The *Bishop* of *Beauvais* beares the Mantell Royall. The *Bishop* of *Noyon*, the Girdell. The *Bishop* of *Chaaons*, the Ring. The *Duke* of *Burgondie*, the Crowne. The *Duke* of *Guyenne*, the first Banner. The *Duke* of *Normandie*, the second. The *Count* of *Tholouse* the Spurres. The *Count* of *Champaigne*, the Banner Royall or Standard. The *Count* of *Flanders*, the Sword royall. Thus crowned, hee holdeth the Sword in his hand, and turning himselfe fourre times, East, West, North, and South, protesteth to defend the Church, and maintaine Justice against all persons of the world: For which hee hath the Title of *Most Christian King, and first Sonne of the Church*: and is in right to haue precedence next the *Emperour*, before all Princes Christian; though the *Spanish Embassadour* of late, hath thrust for the place, and sometimes had it, as namely, at the *Council of Trent*: which wrong afterward, the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals confessed, and disauowed the fact.

Bod. li. 4. The *Spaniard* also once since at the *Emperours* Court tooke the place, and in *Polonia* likewise they lately striued, where it was ordeined (as our law is at the *Ordinaries* in *London*) that hee which came first, should sit first. The *Turke*, when hee writes to him this Title, *Le plus grand, et le Maiteur des plus grands Princes Chrestiens*, The greatest and chiefest of the greatest Christian Princes.

And whereas *Haillan*, but with no great ground out of Histories, would needes infirme, that all other Christian

His
Title.

The view of France.

stian Princes hold of the Empire, he alleageth for a singular preeminence and prerogatiue, that this King holdeth nothing either of the Empire, or Church of *Rome*, but that he is next and immediatly vnder God, supreme, both ouer the Ciuill and Ecclesiastick bodie of *France*; because (saith he) he can impose taxes and payments vpon the Church, without asking the Pope leauue; he cannot onely present, but also conferre benefices; he hath in right the Election of the Pope, as *Charlemagne* had, though *Lewes Debonnaire*, his sonne, renounced againe this authoritie: for, *vn ioy ne pent quitter son droit*: A King cannot giue away his right. Hail. I. 4.

But *Charles the Great* had not this power, as he was King of *France*, but as he was Emperour: I think therefore he doth the Empire wrong (to whom doubtlesse this right still belongeth) to be lowe it vpon *France*. For when the Empire was translated out of *France* into *Germanie*, which was in the yeere 830. then were also all rightes and priuiledges, thereto belonging, of necessity to leauue this Countrey, together with the Empire, to which they are inseparably annexed. As for the Pope, ouer whom the French writers will needes giue their King a priuiledge of Election, he desirers them (for ought I can learne) to haue an oare in their boat rather.

Concerning the Armes of *France*, they haue diuers *His* times, as it appereas by historie, beene altered. For the first Armes were three Toades. After that, changed to three Creslants, then to three Crownes, and lastly, in the time when *France* embraceth the Christian faith, there were sent them from heauen (say their fabulous writers) *Les fleurs a lys d'or en champ d'azur*. The floures *Hail. I. 1.* de Luce *Or*, in a field *Azure*. Armes

The view of France.

With these armes of *France*, the King nowe present
quartereth his Armes of *Nauarre*, which, whether it
be a wheele or a chaine with a Carbuncle in the midst
as Iome say, or what els I knowe not, I cannot yet bee
satisfid of any Frenchman that I haue asked,

His Court. I should now by course speake of the French Court,
wherein, hauing yet spent no time, I haue little to say.
I make no question, but at our retурne into these parts,
you will sufficienly instruct your selfe therein, as with
the diuers offices, the number of the Nobleſſe that ordi-
narily follow it, and their feuerall humours and fa-
ſhions, which is a thing very fit for you to obſerue. I
can onely remember you of that, which your ſelfe haue
read in the booke of the late troubles, (which you
may well call an Historicall declamation, or declama-
tory history) where it is ſaid, *Iamais la Cour de nos Roys,*
qus estois autres-fois, le ſeminaire des vertus de la Nobleſſe
Françoiſe, ne regorgea en plus de desordres des luxes & d'
exces, que ſous le regne du Henry 3 : Neuer did the Court
of our Kings, which was heretofore the ſeede-plot of
vertues for the French Nobleſſe, more abound in all
diſorders of wantonnielle and excesſe, then vnder the
raigne of Henry the third. But that was a censure of the
Court, in the dayes of a Prince giuen ouer to pleasures,
and excesſive ſpending, inſomuch as I haue here heard
ſay, that the only ſolemnizing of the marriage of Duke
loyeuf (his Mignon) cost him two hundred thouſand
crownes. But it is likely, that now the humour of the
King being otherwife, the fashion alſo of the Court is
changed: tor,

Clandian. *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis:*
Lookein what mould the King is form'd,

To

The view of France.

To that his subiects are conform'd.

Whereof you may haue two very fit examples here in France; of *Lewes*, the 11. and *Frances* the 1. without seeking further.

King *Lewes* would haue his sonne *Charles* learne no Latine, forsooth, but onely this sentence, *Quis nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, He that knowes not how to dissemble, knowes not how to raigne. Hereupon all the Court began to despise learning, and to say, that Latine was for a Priest, not for a Gentleman: And that it was learning ynoch for a Nobleman, if hee could write his owne name, yea, and I haue heard of an Admirall of France, that could not do that neither.

The second example is, of *Frances* the first, who cut his hayre short, because of a hurt hee had in his head: and presently all the Court and Noblesse followed that fashion, cutting (sayth *Bodin*) their long *lockes*, *qu' estoit l'ancienne marque de beaute, et de la Noblesse*: Which was the ancient badge of beauty, and Nobilitie. Which olde fashion, I doubt not but they had from the *Lacedemonians*, whose youth were all of them commaunded to weare long locks, because (sayth their Law-maker) *Les cheneux rringent ceux qui sent beaux encore plus beaux, et ceux qui sont laids plus esponuables et plus hideux à voir*: Long hayre makes such as are louely, more louely, & such as are hard-fauoured, more dreadfull and hideous to behold.

The carriage of a Prince, though it bee a naturall defect, and disgraceful, is oftentimes imitated of the Courtiers by affectation. *Philip of Maceeden*, and *Ferdinand of Naples*, held their heads awry vpon the one shoulder, and both their Courts followed, *Tel Maistre, tel vallet*:

The view of France.

Like Master, like man. You see, in that thing wherein you would most be instructed, I am least able to satisfie you, by reason we haue not seene the Court at all, saue onely two dayes, while it staid here at *Orleans*. Howbeit, out of that which I there saw, which I haue heard of others, and read in Authors, I will aduenture to relate, concerning the Officers of this Court; for as for other great Offices, as of *Constable*, *Admirall*, *Marshal*, *Grand M. of the Eauës* and *Forrests*, *Grand M. of the Artillery*, and others, I shall speake of them, when I come to relate of the Kings Forces ingenerall, to which place these Offices especially appertaine.

Grand M. of France: The first Office then of Court, is that of the *Grand Maistre*, Great Master, which in elder times was called *Comte de Palais*, Earle of the Palace, and after changed into the name of *Grand Senechal*, and now lastly into Master. *Grand Maistre*. The *Count Soissons*, youngest Son to *Lewes Hail. b. 3. of Bourbon*, Prince of *Condé*, doth now enioy this place.

It was not long since, in the house *Memorency*: but the French King, to fauor the *D. of Guise*, vpon whom he bestowed the place, caused the other to quit it. It is his office, to iudge of matters of difference, betweene other Offices of Court. He had also the charge to giue the word to the *Gard*, to keepe the keyes of the Kings priuate lodging & to determine in disputes amōg Princes, that followed the Court, for their lodgings. In assēblies he sitteth right before the K. a stayre lower, as you read in the *Dera. Trobl.* *Grand Bouteillier*, or *Eschançon*, Great Butler or Taster, was in former times, a great Office in the Kings house, they had place in the Courts of Justice, as Peeres. This Office was long in the house of the *Countes of Senlis*: it is now vanished, and onely there remaines that of the *Grand Panetier*. This Office is ancient:

Der troub. hb. 4. *Grand Panetier*: Great Pantler.

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The view of France.

ent: he hath besides the Kings houle, superintendence
over all Bakers in the City and Suburbs of *Paris*. They *Gentils-*
which were wont to be called *Panetiers, Eschangers, and hommes*
vallets trenchans: Pantlers, Tasters and Caruers, are now *serviteurs*
called *Gentils-hommes Serviteurs de la Cour*: Gentlemen *de la Cour*
Wayters of the Court. *Gentle-*
men

The Office of *grand Chambellan*, great Chamberlayn, was long in the house of *Tankerville*; he lay at the Kings feet, when the Queene was not there. His priuiledges were then called *Chambellans*, Chamberlaines, are now *hommes Gentils-hommes de la Chambre*, Gentlemen of the Chamber. The office of *grand Escuier*, great Esquier, is not very ancient, though now it be very Honourable, and is the same that M. of the Horse is in the Court of England: men of for it is taken out of the Constables office, to whom it properly appertained, & thereof he had his name, *Conestable, quasi Comes stabuli*, Count of the stable. It was first instituted in the time of *Charles 7.* In the K. entrance into the City, he carries the Sword sheathed before him, The cloth of Estate carried over the King by the Maior and Sheriffes, belongs to his Fee. No man may be the Kings Spur-maker, *Mareschall*, and such like Officer, but he must have it of him, as also all other interiour offices belonging to the stables. He had in times past, the command over stages of Post-horses: but now the Controller, generall of the sayd Posts, hath it. This Office is now exercised by *Monsieur de Thermes, Seigneur de Bellegarde*, a gallant Gentleman, and one of the finest Courtiers of France. The Office of *Maistre à hoste*, Master of the Kings houle, hath charge ouer the expence of the Kings For house.

Grand Escuier: Great Esquier, or Master of the horse
Maistre à hoste: Master or Steward of the Kings houle: the Kings For house.

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For a marke of his authoritie, hee carries a Truncheon
tipt at both ends with Siluer and gilt, and marcheth
before the Sewer, when the Kings dinner comes to the
Table.

No Sergeant can arrest any of the Kings house, without
their leaue. They serue quarterly: they were wont
to bee but foure, but now I haue heard it credibly said,
they bee 80. in name, but all of these doe not execute
the Office. The *Grand Preuost de France et de l' hostel du
Roy*, Great Preuost of France, and of the Kings house,
so called, since *Charles the ninth*: for before, hee was
called, *Roy des ribauds*, King of the Raskals: His Office is
to stickle among the Servants, Pages, Lacqueis, and *Fili-
es de ioye* (Punkes or pleasant sinners) which follow the
Court, and to punish all offences in these people.

Haill. I. 3. I should haue named before these last, as a place
more honourable, the Office of *Grand Fauconpier*, and
Grand Venneur, Great Faulconer, and great Hunt, who
haue authoritie ouer all Officers of chace. They of the
Kings chamber, are either *Gentils hommes de la Chambre*,
Gentlemen of the Chamber, of whom I speake before, or
Vallets de la Chambre, Groomes of the Chamber, which
are but base Groomes and *Rotariers*, yeomen.

Les cent Gentils-hommes de sa Garde, The hundred
Gentlemen of his Gard (though there beet two hundred
of them) they hold and vse a weapon, called
Le bec de corbin: They march two and two be-
fore him: they are part *French*, and part *Scots*: The
Scot carries a white Cassocke, powdred with Siluer
plates, and the Kings deuise vpon it: The *French* weare
the Kings the Kings colours. There is also a Gard of *Swisse*, at-
tired in particoloured Cloth, drawne out with Silke,
after

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after their Countrey fashion: these follow the Court alwayes on foot, the other on horse. Where, by the way yee may obserue, that the reason of the entertainment of *Scots* in the Kings Gard, is (as one saith) because they were *Anciens ennemys des Anglois*, Ancient enemies to the English: and euer since the house of *Austria* matched with that of *Burgogne*, the King hath had also his Gard of *Swissers*, *Ennemys hereditaires de la maison d'Austrie*, Hereditarie enemies of the house of *Austria*. Comment. de l'Estat. Comines cap. 119.

There belongs to the Court also the *Mareschaux des logis*, Marshals of Lodgings, and *Fourriers*, Haruengers: they haue like Offices as the Haruengers in the English Court: there bee also diuers others which are here needlessie to be spoken of, and wherwith your purpose is to bee better acquainted hereafter. I will therefore proceede to speake of the order of France, which was instituted by *Henrre the third*, Anno 1579, and is called, *L'ordre du S. Esprit*, The Order of the holy Ghost. His order. Dev. trouv. Of the S. Esprit: Or holy Ghost.
The reason of this institution, was, *Comme une autentique declaration, qu'il ne pouuoit ny aymer, ny faire bien aux Heretiques, obligeant par serment solemnel tous les Chevalliers, à des conditions qui ne plaisent qu'aux ames toutes Catholiques*: As an authenticall declaration, that hee could neither loue, nor fauour the Huguenots, binding by a solemne oath all the Knights, to conditions futeable onely to mindes intirely Catholiques. Wherby yee may note, that none of the Nobilitie of the Religion are of this order, neither was this King himselfe of it, till 94. when being crowned at *Chartres*, he tooke it vpon him.

Among many other statutes of this order, this is one, That none are capable thereof, except he can proue his

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Nobilitie, by three descents, from the Fathers side. You haue many in France, that are called *Cheualliers des ordres*
of Saint Michael *d'orey*: Knights of the Kings orders: that is, both of the
Antiq. *order of Saint Esprit*, and *Saint Michael* also. The order
Par. of *Saint Michael* was instituted by *Lewes* the 11. in
the yere 1469. the statutes whereof are comprised in
98. Articles; amongst which this is one, That there
should neuer be aboue thirty sixe of the order. But saith
La Noue, this Article was so ill obserued, that at one time
there haue bin 100. whereof 100. shortly after, by reason
of the great charges, and trayneth they kept, were forced
La Noue. (as he there saith) *serrer le colier dans leurs coffres*: To lock
Comte. vp their collers in their Cofers. In the yere 60. were
de l' Es. 18. created of this order. A thing not before heard of,
that so many should be made at once: which the *Constable*
Bodin. 1. 5. disliking, said, *Que l' ordre estoit mis en disordre*; the or-
der was disordred. Against which, *Bodin* also inueigh-
eth, and against the number of Barons made in France,
without either desert, or liuing. And another com-
Haili. 1. 3. plaineth, that the honourable orders of France are *expos-
ses a l' ambition, qui estoient destinez au merite*: Exposed to
ambition, which were dedicated onely to deserts.

*Of the
Starre.*

You must note, that of *S. Michaels* order, there were 2.
sortes, *du grand ordre*, et *du petit*: the great and the small
order: Those wore a coller of Massie gold; these onely
a Ribbon of silke. Before these was the order *De l' esto-
ille*, of the Starre; or as others call it, *De la vierge Marie*; of
the Virgine *Mary*, instituted by *John* the French King,
anno, 1365. which after, growing too common (a fault
generally noted in all Countries, where orders are erec-
ted, that they bee bestowed vpon too many, and some
vnworthy, except onely in the most noble order of the

Garter,

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Garter, which by the confession of all writers, maintayneth still his ancient glory) the order of the Starre, I say, growing too common, and therefore the Princes, and nobler sort, disdayning to weare it, it was bestowed vpon the *Archers du guel*, who still weare it, the Nobility *Haill. l. 31* hauing long since quitted it. But the most ancient order of France, is that of the *Genette*, instituted by *C. Marstell*. The Knights of this order, wore a Ring, wherein *Genette*, was engrauen the forme of a *Genette*. The caule of instituting this order, is not knowne: it endured till *S. Lewes id. li. 3.* his time.

Besides these foure forenamed orders, which haue beeene instituted by Kings, I reade also of two others in France, which had their creation by Princes of the bloud, and were onely taken by Knights of their partie.

The order of the *Pore-espis*, rased by the Duke of *Orleans*, in envy of the order of his enemy, the Duke of *Bur-Porceplic gogne*.

The order of the *Creissante*, or Halfe-Moone, by the Duke of *Aniowe*, anno, 1464. with this Mot (*Los*) *Of the Croissan-* as who would say, *Los en croissant*, Prayse by encreasing, *te.* The Knights of this order, had in the middest of the Cressant, a Truncheon, to signifie hee had beeene in the warres: (for else he might not bee of that order) if twice, then two Truncheons; if thrice, three; and so orderly. His Habillement was a Mantle of Crymosin Veluet, and a white Velvet Cap.

It is not much impertinent, here also to obserue, what orders haue bene erected in other Countries: whereof, the most Noble & renowned order of *S. George of England*, is the chiefest, & therefore first to be remembred. *George.*

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Hail. li. 3. It was instituted in King *Edward* the 3. time, before any of these of France, except onely that of the *Genet*, which (no doubt) was some obscure Order, as appeareth by the place where it was worne; and by the little, or rather nothing, which the French Writers speake thereof.

*The Gol-
de Fleece.* The next is the order of the *Toison d'or*, The Golden

de Fleece, erected by *Philip* the second, Duke of *Burgogne*.

The collar of this order hath a Golden Fleece hanging Conferdes at the end, in memory (some say) of *Gedons Fleece*: or *Ordon*, others (which is most likely) of the Golden Fleece of *Col-
chas*, which *Iason* with his gallants of *Greece* ventured for. The feast of these Knights, is kept vpon *Saint Andrewes day*. The habilments, a mantle of *Crym-
son Velvet*, and a cap of violet colour: It was instituted

Of the A- anno, 1430. There is also the order of the *Annunciade*, *nunciati*, erected by *Amadeus* Duke of *Sauoy*: In the collar here-
on.

of is written in Letters of gold, or stone, this word, (*sert, fert, fert*) thrice, in honour of *Amade le grand*, his Predecessor: signifying (*Fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit*: His valour kept *Rhodes*) for that hee helped the Knights of *Ierusalem* to win *Rhodes*, vpon the *Turkes*, which is since againe reconquered, and they driuen into the isle of *Malta*: At the end of the collar, hangs the partreice of the *virgine Mary*, and the *Angell* salutting her.

*Of the
Knights
of Malta*: *Of Saint
Stephen*. Of the
band or
scarfe. Of the order of the Knights of *Malta*, yee shall see a whole Booke written, when ye come to *Italy*: As also of that of *Saint Stephen*, instituted by *Cosimo Medici*, first Duke of the vnted forces of *Florence*, and *Sienna*. I will therefore omit to speake, either of the one, or other. As also of the order of the *Band or Scarfe*, instituted by *Alphonse*, King of *Arragon*, whereof I want sufficient matter

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matter to relate. I will end this discourse of Orders of knighthood, with this one obseruation, that is, that in times past, there were (as with vs) Knights, which notwithstanding, were not of the Order. Of these, were three sortes, *Cheualliers Bannerets*, *Cheualliers Bachelers*, *cneil*, and *Cheualliers Escuyers*: Knights Bannerets, Knights Bachelers, and Knights Esquires, or Armor-beaters. The first had twise as much pension as the second, and they twise as much as the third. It followeth I speake of *His Forces*, as well horse as foote, of which this Countrey is very well furnished, and indeede vanteth (and I thinke worthily) to be the best and greatest *Gendarmerie* of any Realme in Christendome: but on the other side, their foote haue no reputation; in so much as the last yere before *Amiens*, we should heare the *Spaniard* within the Towne, speake ouer the walles to our English Souldiers in their Trenches, after we had saued the Kings Canon, from which the French were shamefully beaten by them within sallying out vpon them:

You are tall Souldiers (say they) and we honour you much, not thinking any foote to come neere vs in reputation but you, and therefore, when you of the *English* come downe to the Trenches, wee double our *Gard*, and looke for blowes: but as for these base and vnworthie *French*, when they come, wee make accompt wee haue nothing to doe that day, but play at Cardes, or sleepe vpon our Rampart. Of both these Forces of horse and foote of France, you are to note this which followeth.

It is reported of the great Turke, that when hee con-
quereth any Prouince or Country, hee diuideth the
Lands vpon his horsemen to each his portion, with an

Tillet. re-

His Forces.

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Paul. Io-
mis.

The view of France.

exemption of paying either rent, taxe, or tallage what-
soeuer; only they are bound to serue the *Grand Signore*,
(Great Turke) with a proportion of horse at their owne
charge, and in their owne person in his warres, except
either age or sicknesse hinder, which are the two onely
Bodin li. 5 excuses admitted. These are called his *Timars*: of like
nature as are the *Calafyres* of *Egypt*. You shall finde this
La Noue, that *Iouius* saith, confirmed by *La Noue* speaking of *Greuce*,
Ou (saith he) *ils tirent leurs meidens hommes de guerre sur*
leurs terres conquises, *qu'ils leur departent*, *à la charge de se*
tenir en squepage, *pour venir seruir au mandement de grand*
Seigneur: From whence hee draweth his best men of
warre, dwelling vpon the conquered Lands which hee
diuideth among them, vpon condition that they shall
alwayes be readie to serue at the commandement of the
great *Turke*.

Hasl. 3. So did the Kings of *France* in former times bestowe
vpon Gentlemen, diuers lands and possessions, freeing
them likewise from taxes and aides, vpon condition to
haue their personall seruice in time of neede. These
Ordonn. lands were called (*Feifs*:) instituted before *Charlemagne*
his time, but till then, they were giuen only for life (as at
this day are those of the *Turkes*:) but since, they bee he-
reditary. The word *Feif*, hath his Etymologic of (*Foy*)
Faith: signifying lands giuen by the King to his Nobil
littie or men of deserft, with *Haulte et basse iustice*, with
an acknowledgement of fealtie and homage, and ser-
vice of the King in his warres at their owne charge.
Some *Feif* was bound to finde a man at armes; some an
Archer, some the third, and some the fourth of a man
at armes, according to the quantitie of land hee held.
He that had land from the valew of fiftie to sixe hundred

Liuris

The view of France.

Liures rent (that is from fiftie to sixtie pound sterling) was bound to finde, *Vn homme de cheval en habillement d' Ord. H.2.* hommes d' armes: A man on horsebacke, furnished for a 1547. man at armes: And from three to foure hundred, *Fera un bon homme de cheval leger*: A good light horse-man, Who, if it please the Prince, and vpon occasion of seruice, shall quitt his horse and serue on foot, prouided that hee haue with him a vallet Harquebutier. But they that had lesse then three or foure hundred, had a lesse proportion of charge. There be foure exceptions where a man is not bound to serue in person: If he bee sick, if aged, if he beare some Office, if hee keepe some Frontier place or other Castle of the Kings; for in this case hee may send another.

*Publica militia vassallus munera iusta,
Non renuat, dominiq; libens in castra vocatus,
Aut eat, aut alium pro se submittat iturum.
Arbitrio domini vel quem laudaueris ille,
Compenset, redimatq; suum mercede laborem.*

Talbot re-
cavall.

They are bound, vpon forfeiture of their (*Feif*) to serue three moneths within the Land, and fortie dayes without, not counting the dayes of marching. You must obserue, that as the *Seigneurs* holde their (*Feif*) of the King in *Hante justice*, so other Gentlemen hold of them in *Basse justice*, vpon charge to follow these *Seigneurs* at all times to the warres. For *Le feif est la chose par laquelle ceux qui le tiennent sont tenuz du serment de fidelite envers leurs Seigneurs.* The *Feif* is the thing, by the acceptation whereof, they that hold it, are bound in oath and fidelitie to their Lordes:

The view of France.

And therefore are called their *Vassals* of (*Wessos*) the old Gaule word, which signifieth valiant: for to such were the Fieles giuen. As for (*serfs*, *slaves* or *villaines*) these are domestike, and serue vpon baser condition, for wages and victuals. There is also the (*Subiect*) that is, the poote paisant that laboureth and tilleth the (*fiefs*) and therefore yee shall heare *Monsieur le Gentleman* speake of *ses terres*, *ses hommes*, and *ses subiects*: His lands, his men, and his Subiects: and yet himselfe is vassall to the Seigneur, that holdes in *baute iustice*. But ye may note, that no word of seruice whatloever in this discourse, doth prejudice the libertie naturall of the vassall. The *Subiect*, nor *serf*, *villaine*, are bound to go to the warres, but onely the vassall. The mustering and gathering together of these forces, is called the *Ban*, and *Arrier-ban*, of the Alman words (*Here*) *exercitus*:

*Conser. des
Ord.*

*His
Gens-
d'armes*

Haill. I. 3

An armie: and (*ban*) *convocation*: A calling together. This *Ban* and *Arrierban* consisted anciently of twelue, sometimes fifteene thousand *Gens/darmes*: But after the corruption thereof, when the *fiefs* came to be in the hands of vnable and vnwoorthy men, the Kings of France were forced of later times, to erect the *Gens-darmes des ordonnances*: The *Gens-d'armes*, or men at Armes of his Ordinances, in *Charles 7. time*. For ye must consider, that there haue beeene foure principall causes of the ouerthrowe of this *Ban* and *Arrierban*: The first was the gifts to the Clergie, who it is reported haue the sixt part of these *fiefs* in their hands, and contribute nothing to the warres: for as one sayeth, *Ils ne veulent rien perdre, rien payer, rien contribuer pour leur garde, & neantmoins veulent estregardez*: They will lose nothing, pay nothing, contribute nothing toward their

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their garding, & yet notwithstanding they will be garded. The next was the voyages to the *Holy Land*: for whē one had made a vow to go thither, to serue against the *Saracens*, & Infidels, he sold his Fief, to furnish him for that purpose. The third was the warres with the English, wherein by force they lost them. The last caule is the sales of them to all sortes of people, without exception, as to the Lawyer, the Yeoman, and any other vnable person whatsoeuer, that will buy them: which till Ch. 7, they might not do. Yee see then, how necessary it was, this olde institution being corrupted and quite decayed, to erect a new: which they called *Les gens d'armes des ordonnances*; because at their first erection, there were diuers lawes and ordinances made for them to obserue, which who so brake, was surely punished. They were at first only 1500. But after, they were increased to a hundred Companies, and giuen to diuers Princes of the bloud, and Nobles of France, to conduct and commaund, with an honourable pension: In these Companies should be 6000. (for in some there is 100. in others but 50.) howbeit, it is thought, in each company there wants some, for the benefit of the Officers, and that in truth, there be not aboue foure thousand in all. For the maintenance of this *Gendarmerie*, there is a taxe yerely leuyed vpon the people throughout all France, called the *Taillé*.

Concerning both the number of the *Gendarmes*, and their proportion of allowance, by the *Taillé*, it is thus, as *La Nonē* iudgeth: *Les gens de cheval du temps du Henry La Nonē, 2. passoient six mille lances: mais elles ne sont maintenant que quattro mille. Et il me semble que quattro regiments d' Infanterie se doiment entretenir en temps de paix, reglez à six cens hommes*

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hommes chacun. Et 15. mille escas per mois y suffiroit : The Horsemen in the time of *Henry 2.* exceeded the number of 6000. Lances; but they are now but 4000. and in mine opinion, it were fit to entartayne in time of peace, four Regiments of Infantry, of 600. men a piece.

Antiq. 74.

*His
Infan-
try.*

As touching the Infantry, *Francis* the first was the first that instituted the Legionaries, which were in all, 8. Legions, and euery Legion to containe sixe thousand, according to the rate of the ancient Romanes. The first Legion was of *Normandy*. The next of *Bretagne*. One in *Picardy*. One in *Burgundy*. In *Champagne* and *Nisernois* one. In *Dolpheny* and *Prouence* one. In *Lyonnais* and *Anvergne* one. And one in *Languedocke*. These companies were shortly after castled: and againe, within eighteene yeres erected; and are now againe of late yeeres dissolued, and in their place, the Regiments now intertayned, which are ffeue in number: The Regiment of the *Gard*, The Regiment of *Picardy*, The Regiment of *Champagne*, The Regiment of *Piemont*. And lastly, the Regiment of *Gascoyne*, commonly called the Regiment of *Navarre*. In each of these is twelue hundred.

These are all now in time of peace bestowed in *Garrison Townes* and frontier places, except those of his *Bodin. 1.6.* *Gard*. *Bodins* opinion is, that four Legions of 5000. a piece, would suffice to be maintayned in this land: for (saith he) the Romane Empire, which was twenty times *Tacit. 1.1.* as great, had never but 11. Legions in pay: but this is to be vnderstood of them which were in pay ordinary in Italy, besides those Legions which they had in other their Counties, as in *England*, *Spaine*, *Low Countries*, &c.

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&c. For otherwise we read of those Emperors, that had 31. Legions; & *Boain* himselfe confesseth, that *Augustus* had at one time entartayned in pay forty Legions, at 11. millions charge the yere. But this writer, though he be approued, as he well deserues; yet I thinke, if he sayled in any of his discourse, it was in matter of Warre, the profession whereof did ill agree with his long Robe; yee shall therefore take the iudgement of a discreete Souldier of France, for your direction what force the French can make, or intertaine of others, which is this,

Si nostre Roy senoit qu'un voisne lui vclust venir mugaeter sa frontiere, s'estime qu'il pourroit asement composer vne Armee de soixante compagnies de gens d'armes, vingt Cornettes de chevaux legiers, et cinq compagnies d'Harquebusiers à cheual, le tout faisant six mille cheuaux. A quoy en pourroit adionster trois ou quattro mille Reysters plus, cent Enseignes d'Infanterie Françoise, & quarante de ses bons amys les Suiszes. Et cecy n'empescheroit que les autres frontieres ne demurassent suffisamment penruees d'hommes : La Noue.

If our King perceyued that any Neighbour of his meant to inuade his Frontiers, I thinke he might easily compote an Army of sixty companies of men at Armes, 20. Cornets of light Horse, and fve companies of Harquebuliers on horsebacke, amounting all to 10000. Horse. To which hee might adde three or foure thousand Reysters, & one hundred Ensignes of French foote, and fourty Ensignes of his good confederates, the Swissers, and yet mayntaine his other frontiers sufficiently manned.

So that yee may conclude, that foure thousand men at Armes, well complete, and with a proportion of light Horse and foote answerable, sheweth the whole Flower, Beauty, and force of France.

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Howsoeuer the Author of the Cabinet confidently auoweth, that there may easily bee mustred, and main-tayned fourscore and odde thousand horse of one sort and other, that is, Lance and light horse. But I feare mee, we may say of them, as *Plutarch* sayth of the No-blesse of *Athens*, hauing vsurped vpon the Democraticie of that City: *Ils estoient que quatre cens, et toutesfois se faisoient appeller les cinq mille*: They were indeed but 400. and yet caused themselves to be stiled, The fve thousand. So I feare me, hee reckoneth after the Athenian rate, ten for one.

*Plut. Al-
cib.*

*Cabinet
du Roy.*

The Cabinets reason is this: There be in France fiftie thousand Gentlemen that are able to beare Armes: for (sayth he) rate this proportion at a Gentleman in eche league, by the measure of France (where are forty thousand in square) and it wanteth but a fift. Howbeit, sayth hee, in some Countries, ye shall haue thirty or forty, within the compasse of one league, besides their children. Out of these, if the King would, hee might compose a *Gendarmerie* of 8000. men at Armes, and 16000. Archers: which bodie of 24000. Gentlemen, would represent in the field 60000. horse. Hee might also haue a *cavallerie Legiere*, offoure or fve thousand Gentlemen. He might also furnish the *Ban* and *Ari-erban*, according to the olde fashion, with twelue or fiftee thousand Gentlemen. And yet might hee haue besides all this, foure or fve thousand for the State of his Court, and government of his Prouinces. This is his computation. But you shall see it proued, when wee come to speake of the Nobilitie of France, that it is exceedingly shortned in number, and decayed in estate, and therefore nothing able to come neere this number.

As

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As good a consequent it were to say, that because yee haue two or three millions of men in England, able to fight, that therefore our State can bring so many into the field: without considering the prouision of Armes, and all other things necessary. But this Cabinet was made by one of the Religion, that was transported out of himselfe, by the heate of his zeale, and hate to the temporall liuings of the Church: Whose projects and driftes are much like those of the *Supplication of Beggars* (a booke made in King *Henry* the eights dayes) where he frameth in his fancy an *Utopia* and felicitie, not to be hoped in France, building Castles in the ayre, and concluding, that if it would please the King to aliene the Church temporall liuings, and vnite them to the Domaine, *nihil est dictu facilius*: (a thing easily sayd, but not easily done) that ouer and besides the forces of fourescore thousand horse abouesaide, hee might also maintayne an Infantry of the French Gentlemen of twelue thousand. Item, another of the popularre, of forty eight thousand. And lastly, yet another Infantry legionaire of 48. thousand.

The *Supplication* was answered by Sir *Thomas Moore* his booke, called *The Pitifull complaints of the puling soules in Purgatory*: How well I knowe not, but of this I am sure, that if such a number of horse and foote should either bee maintayned vpon the Church liuing, or vpon the poore people (vpon whome all these charges of the *Gend' armes* lyeth, here would bee many more puling soules, and pitifull complayntes in France, then are Sir *Thomas Moore's* Purgatory.

It then remaines, that we hold our selues to the iudgement of *La Noue*, aforeset downe, who also confesseth,

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La Noue. that in *Charles* the sixt histime, there were in the field, twentie two thousand Lances, but since the *Gendarmerie* was instituted, were neuer but once at *Valenciennes* aboue ten thousand. For as for that great number, whereof yee reade in *M. d' Argenton*, that besieged *Commines* *Lewes* the eleventh in *Paris*, they were the Forces of three great Princes, and the better part *Burgognons*.

There is yet one thing you must note, why the French haue quit their Lances, and serue al with the Pistol, whereof yee shall read somewhat in *La Noue*, and heare more of others by ditcourse, but nothing of mee by writing: for I dare not deale, *Ultra crepidam*, in a matter I understand not fully.

Offi-
cers of
warr. I must now remember you of the Officers for the war in France: and because warre is made both by Sea and by land, I must also reckon the Sea officers: for as for the French Kings forces at Sea, I haue not yet learned that he hath any, and therefore can say nothing thereof.

Cone-
stable. The first and principall, and which commandeth all in the Kings absence, euen the Peeres and Princes of the blood whatsoeuer, is the *Constable*: Who, as hath before beene remembred, hath his name of *Comes stabuli*, Count of the stable. For in former times the Kings chiefe Officers were called Counts, with an addition of their office, as *Comes palassis*, *Comes prasidii*, *Comes rerum priuatarum*, *Comes sacrarum largitionum*, *Comes castrorum*, *Comes nausium*, Count of the Palace, Count of the Gard, &c. And though hee hath not now the command of the Kings horse, yet keepeth he still the name: This office was erected in *Lewes le Gros* his time. It was bestowed vpon the house of *Memoracie*, in *Francis* the first his time, and remayneth still in the same.

The

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The ancient deuice of the house of Memorency, is this, *Dieu aide le premier Cheftien, et premier Baron de France:* God ayd the first Christian, & anciēst Baron of France. Hee hath the keeping of the Sword royall. And as the *Grand Escuyer*: Great Esquire, hath the Sword in the scabberd *D' Azure, semé de fleurs de Lys d' or*: Azure seeded with flowers de Lyce, or added to his Armes, to beareth the *Constable* for an Honour, the naked Sword, the *Mareschals* beare the *Hache*, Battel-axe: and the *Admirals* the *Anchor*. The *Constable* and *Mareschals* giue the othe to the King: He sitteth chiese Judge at the table of Marble, vpon all persons, Sutes, Actions, and complaints whatsoeuer touching the warres. Whenthe King entreth a Citie, in his greatest pompe, or vpon a deliuerie, he goeth before with the sword naked: & whē the King sitteth in Assembly of the three States, he is placed at his right hand. He that killeth the *Constable*, is guilty of high treason. The *Mareschals* are named, as some lay, of (*Marc.*) *Marc*-*Cheual*, a Horse: & (*Schal.*) *maistre*, Master: *Qui commande shall*. aux cheuaux, Commander of the horse. Others, of *Mar. Com. Or. chs. i. limite ou frontierie*, March or frontier: *quasi Praefellus dom. limitum*, as it were Gouvernour of the Marches. Till *Francis the first*, there were but two in all France; after, four, and now ten: for as is said before, when any that held either some strong Towne or place of importance, came in to the King, hee did alwayes capitulate, to haue some one of these Offices, besides summes of money and Gouvernments also: such was the necessities of the times, saith *Haillan*. These, vnder the Constable haue *Haill. l. 4* the cōmand ouer all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Capitaines, *Ibid.* and *Gensdarmes*: but may neither giue battail, make proclamation, or Muster men, without his cōmandement.

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They haue vnder them Lieutenants, which they call *Premoſts Marshals*, who haue the punishing of mutinous ſouldiers, ſuch as quit their colours, Rogues, and *Admirall* ſuch like. There is the office of *Admirall*, *Ce que les Maſſeaux ſont en vne Armee de terre, l' Admiral eſt en Dern. trou. vne nauale*: & ces offices ſont diſtinguez d'autant que le ſubjeſt eſt diſſerent & diuers: Looke what the Marshals are in a land-Armie, the ſame is the *Admirall* in a Sea-Armie: and theſe two offices are ſeuerall, because the ſubjeſt of their imployment is diſſering and vnlke.

Cesar.com
lib. 2.

This office is the moſt ancient of all France: for *Cesar* ſpeaketh thereof, *Les Admiraux de la Prouence, de Breſt, taigne & Narbonne ſont loués pour la pratique & dexterité des guerres nauales*: The Admirals of *Prouence*, *Breſt, taigne*, and *Narbon* are much commended for their practife and ſkill in ſea-ſeruice.

I maruaile therefore, why *du Haillan* reporteth, that they were firſt made in *Charlemagnes* dayes, and that one *M. Ritland* was the firſt that was made. There are now fourre Admiralties, *France, Bretagne, Guyenne, and Prouence*. This laſt is alwayes annexed to the gouernourſhip of that Countrey: So that of *Guyenne* likewiſe, till the King that now is, came to the Crowne, who before was *Gouernour* and *Admirall* of *Guyenne*: but ſince he hath diuided the commandes. Yee may obſerue in hiſtories, that all the while the French voyages were vpon the Leuant Seas, either to the *Holy land, Sicile, or Naples*, or whitherſoever, the French alwayes had their veſſels and Commanders out of *Italy*. *La France emprouoit ſes Admiraux de Genes, Pife, de Venife, & de Luques*: France borrowed their Admirals from *Genoa, Pifa, Venice, and Luca*. Theſe haue the tenth of all

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all Wracke, prize or prisoners, that are taken at Sea.

Before the inuention of Shot, there was an Officer in France, called, *Grand Maistre des arbalestiers, et Cranquins*, Great Master of the Crosse-bowes and In- Master of gines: (for *Cranquin*, is a generall word for all instru. the Artil- mets of battery) which Office is now called The *Grand Artillerie*, *Maistre de l' Artillerie*, Great Master of the Artillerie, who at first also, immediatly after the inuention of Shot, was called *Capitaine Generall de l' Artillerie*, Capitaine Generall of the Artillerie.

You haue also *Treasurers for the Warres*, which are ei- ther ordinarie, or extraordinarie: Those pay the *Cens- rers for darmes*, and these the Regiments of the Infanterie. *the Wars*. Treasurers ordinarie are so many, as there bee places where they Muster: Of extraordinary, there be alwayes foure.

The Heraults of France are sixe, *Normandy, Guyenne, Heraults, Valois, Bretagne, Burgogne*, so called of the Countreyes (as with vs in England) and *Mont-joy*, who is the chiefe of the rest. Their ancient Office was to bee present at all Iusts, and Tournements, to carrie warre or peace, to summon places, to desie enemie-Princes, to giue armes to men new ennobled: But now they bee onely vsed at Feastes, Coronations, Solemnities, Funerals, and such like; for they are no more vled in the treatie and negoti- ation with forraigne Princes. I think the reason is, be- cause the Office hath of late yeeres beeene bestowed vp- on vnworthy and insufficient persons. It shall here be needlesse to name all other his Officers of the Warres, which are all one with those of other Countreyes, as *Collonell, Captaine, Sergeant, Lieutenant, Ensigne, Capporall, &c.* I will onely remember in a word the French maner

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of Mustering, March, Charge, and service ingeneral, and then proceed to the next branch of this relation. We must obserue, that (excepting the *gens d' armes*, and the Regiments abouenamed) when any Souldiers are taken vp for the warres, they are not pressed, as with vs, but the Captayne hauing his Commission, gathereth them vp by sound of Drumme, enterteyning onely such as will (which may be some cause of the badnesse, and basenesse of the French foote) for being commonly the rascall sort, and such as haue no other meanes, there can not settle in their abieet mindes, that true and honourable resolution requisite in a Souldier. This Commission must first be shewed to the Gouernour, Lieutenat-generall, Bailife, or Seneschall of the Prouince, vpon paine of death. Neither is it good, except it bee signed by the King, and one of the Secretaries of estate, and sealed with the great Seale. The Souldiers leuyed, are at the charge of the Prouince, where they be taken vp, till

Marche. they depart the same. Their March it shoulde seeme, is somewhat more sharpe then ours: For I remember I haue heard say, that vpon a time, the olde *Marshall Biron*

Sir Ro. Wil. should bid *Sir Roger Williams* bring vp his companies
» faster, taxing the slow March of the English. Sir (sayth
» he) with this March our forefathers conquered your
» Countrey of France, and I meane not to alter it. A me-
morable answere of an honourable Souldier. For the

Charge. French Charge, ye shall heare the Spaniards opinion out
La Noye. of *La Noye*, *L'infanterie Françoise escaramouche brauement de loin et la Cauellery a vne furieuse boutie à l'affront, puis apres qu'el es accommode*: The French Infantry skirmis-
heth brauely afarre off, & the Cauallery giues a furious
onset at the first charge: but after that first heare, they
will

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will take egges for their money. And indeed this is that which all writers give them, and which best agrees with their nature: for we may say of them, as is laid of *Theb mistocles*, he was so hote at the onset, *que perdis le souffle au milen de la carriere*: That he lost his winde in the midst of the carriere. Or say of them, as *Fabius of Hannibal*, His *valour is comme un sen de paille, et une flamme allumée en enematiere de peu de durée*: Like a fire of straw, and a flame kindled in matter of small continuance.

Concerning the French discipline, *Cæsar* himselfe saith *Disci- they had it first from vs, Gallorum disciplina in Britannia plene. reperta, atq; inde in Galliam translata esse dicitur, et nunc qui Cæsar. eam reuoluntur diligenter cognoscere volunt, plerunque ill' odiscendit Com. l. 6. causa proficiuntur*: Tis said, the discipline of the *Ganles* was first inuented in *Britannia*, & from thence translated into *Gallia*; & now such as desire to attaine the perfectiō thereof, commonly trauell thither to learne it. But they haue long since degenerated frō their old discipline of war: & they the selues confess, that since the beginning of these late ciuill wars, where Soldiers, in all dilordred & dissolute maner, haue bin giue to pillage, & *volteries*, (theeuer y) that it is very much *abastardie, abastardized*: Whereof *La Nonē* cōplsyneth in his discourses, *Quant à La Nonē la discipline Militaire, si faut conseiller qu'elle est gisante au lit tournantée d'une griesue maladie*: As for the military discipline, we must cōfesse, that she keeps her bed, sicke of a very deadly disease. The Noblesse fight always on hors, & thinke it a dishonor to serue on foot. But *Com. saith of the Nobility of Burgundy*, in the wars with *Leves* the eleuenth, that they all quit their horses, *car lors ils estoient le plus honorez qui descendoyent, à fin que le peuple en fust plus assuré et combatisst mieux, et tenoyent cela des Anglois*: For they were then most honored, that lighted on foot,

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to the end the people might be the more encouraged, and fight more valiantly: and this they learned of the English. And it is no questiō, but if some of the French Nobilitie would doe so, it would much confirme their foote, by the example of their valour and abiding, and recover that reputation , which now their foote haue lost in the world. Neither do I thinkē this the least reason, why our Ancestors haue wonne so many battelles vpon them, namely, for that wee euer haue had men of Noble houses, to lead & serue on foot with our forces. A notable cause to confirme and assure the vnsteady headiness of a multitude.

And for the opinion that the world hath of our foot, ye shall obserue what the same writer elsewhere sayth,
Id. *Bonnes gens de pied, et meilleurs que leurs voisins, comme nous pourrions aujourd' huy dire les Anglois et les Suisses :* They be good foote, and better then their neighbours, as wee may say now adayes of the English and Swiflers.

And in another place, where hee opineth of the manner of seruice, he sayth : *Mon advis est, que la souveraine chose du monde es battaille sont les Archers, et la fleur des Archers sont les Anglois :* My opinion is, that in battels , Archers are the weight that turnes the ballance, and of Archers, the English are the flower: where he likewise discourteth, how daungerous a thing it is to abide a battel, except your foote be much the better : which in my opinion was no little cause why the French King fought not with the Cardinall this last yere 97. before *Amiens*, because the enemies foote were holden in number eighteene thousand (though I hardly thinkē they were so many) a number full as great as the French , and the Souldier farre better, they being all French, except some three

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three thousand English, and Swizzers , and theirs the choise men of all his Garrisons, & experienced Soldiers in thole Low Countries. For true it is, that the Kings *Gendarmes* were two for one, and holden also much the better men, aswell because there was in a maner all the Nobilitie & Flower of France, as also that they had the aduantage in the maner of weapon, for that the French serueth with the Pistoll, & the Spanyard still holds him to his Lance. But I make no question, that the confideration of the oddes on foote , was not the chiefe cause why we fought not that day; for we had a goodly fayre Field, and playne as might be possible, as also large: a singular aduantage for him which is strongest in horse: So had we the winde and Sunne in our backes, which are holden no small helpe.

But this was the reason : the King thought it no policy to play all his Rest at once, where he might haue lost more at one game, then hee had got in eight yeeres: hee had no reason, but to make the Card that was now going, a Bridge of Gold (as the Prouerbe is) considering, that by this meanes hee should gayne the Towne of *Amiens*, reassure other Cities that then stode wauering, and recouer his reputation in the world, which by the losse of that Towne was much disputed.

Of this somewhat bath beene sayde before: I therefore leauue to speake further thereof, as also of the French forces , or seruice in warres , with the onely remembrance of a French mans reason, who thought himselfe no small wise man, that would needes proue that the French seruice, and Souldier also, was better then the English: Because (sayth he) wee haue

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Rablaist. more old Captaynes in France, then you in England. Much like the reason of *Rablaist*, who woulde needes proue, that drunke[n]nesse was better for the body then Phisike, because there were more old drunkards, then old Phisicians.

His Expēce It now remayneth I speake of his Expence, which chiefly consisteth in these two things before spoken of, namely, his Court and his Forces: wherein it is very hard to relate an exact proportion, considering not onely the varietie and difference of writers, but also the vncertainty of the numbers of Pensionaires, or provisioned: And lastly, the change and alteration of their allowance, not continuing alwayes the same. Howbeit, that which is most commonly reported, and seemeth neerest the truth, is this: The maintenance of fiftie Regiments of foote, at sixe Crownes the moneth, commeth to foure hundred sixtie eight thousand Crownes the yere, besides the pension of 5. Collonels, at two thousand Crownes a peece; thirty Captaynes at one thousand pension a man; as many Lieutenantes at fiftie hundred, and Ensignes at thirtie hundred the peece; which is in all seueny foure thousand; which added to the first summe, makes the whole charge of these Regiments, yericly to amount to the summe of fiftie hundred forty two thousand Crownes. This proportion diffe-

Ed. lib. 5. reth not much from that of *Bodin*, where he layth, The King might maintayne in ordinary twenty thousand foote, at the rate of three millions, and fiftie thousand *liures*, which if you reduce to Crownes, and to one number of sixe thousand foote, commeth to a lesse rate then that other, namely, to foure hundred eight thousand, three hundred thirty three Crownes: but I thinke,

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think, that former is neerer the truth. For the allowance of his *Gens d'armes*, which are reckoned at sixe thousand, as is before said (though in truth there be but four) for he payeth thus many, I follow the proportion of them that say, that 51750. crownes, is the ordinary allowance for one company of a hundred yerely: for where are sixe thousand men at Armes in the field, are eighteene thousand horse in all. After this rate then of the hundred before set downe, the whol: *Gens d'armes* amoun-
teth to 3105000. crownes.

For the expence of his Court, you shall heare it to be *Cabinet* thus rated: The Table of the King, and those of the *du Roy*. Gentlemen of the Chamber, at 112000. crownes: for *his menus plaisirs*, petty pleasures, a thousand crownes a day in all 165000. (But this was a proportion for the *last King*, who was a great giuer.) For the *grand* and *petite Escuerie*, great and little Stable, 190000. For the Constable, 24000. For the *grand Maistre*, great Master, 20000. For the Marshals of France, 18000. a-
peece, when they were but four; for now it is a Title onely, without either pension or commaund, saue only in the four chief. For the Admirall, 15000. for the *grand Veneur*, great Hunt, 16000. For the Gouernours of his Provinces in all, 188000. For the Gentlemen of his Chamber, their pension 1200. crownes a-
peece, in all sixe hundred thousand. For the Captaines of his Gards, *a cheual*, on Horse, two thousand apeece. For their Lieutenants, eight hundred. For two thou-
sand Swisse of his Gard, ten crownes a month, 24840. For all other domesticall Officers, one hundred thou-
sand. For Heraults, sixe thousand. For Marshals of lodgings and Fourriers, 4600. For Preuost Marshals

*But I
doubt of
this Au-
thors
report,
etc.*

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of Prouinces, a thousand a peece, in all twentie foure thousand. For twentie foure hundred Atchers to attend these Preuosts in the execution of their Office, seuen hundred and twentie thousand Crownes. For his Ambassadours in diuers Countreyes, two hundred and fiftie thousand. For his Officers of Finances, Treasurers, Receiuers, Controlers, and such other like Offices through France, an infinite & incredible summe: As also for such numbers of horte and foote as the Cabinet setteth downe, besides thele *Gensdarmes* and Regiments, which yee heare prouided for, and in the Kings pay.

But yee must obserue, that of all these Court charges and others here beforemencioned (except those of his Forces) yee are not to make any ground as of a trueth: they being onely the supposed charges, set downe by this said Authour, who for his errors in other matters, hath also lost his credit in this.

Howbeit, I thought good to remember them, that yee might thereby haue some vnderstanding of the difference of those Offices, and how one exceedeth another, as well in pension and benefit, as in precedents and honour.

To speake either particularly of the Court expenses, or generally what they be certaine, I cannot, not having heard any thing thereof, but onely that it is supposed, the charge of the Kings house, is fiftie hundred Crownes a day. But sure it is, that these late Warres haue forced the Crowne of France to be at infinite charge: for yee shall read in *La Noue*, that aboue twenty yeres since, *Nos roys ont dependu aux guerres ciuiles joinant des millions d'or.* Our Kings haue spent in the ciuill Warres, sixtie milli-

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ons of Crownes. And it is said that *Monſieur Gobelins*, *Treasorer d' Espagne*, Treasurer of the Exchequer, paſſed his accompts this laſt yeere, for twentie one millions d' or, of Crownes: ſo deare was the recovering of *Amiens*; for no question, there was his greatest expence, (except the pay of Financers wages.)

What then hath bene the expence in theſe eight and thirtie yeeres ſpace of the Ciuill warres, may eaſily bee conieſured to be inſinat, conſidering withall the lauith prodigalitie, and immeaſureable ſpending of the Princeſ, eſpecially of the laſt: who ſome let not to ſay, that hee left the ſtate engaged by one meanes and other; as namely, the ſale of his Aides, the alienation of his Do- *His* maine, and money taken vp to vſurie, not much leſſe *Dets.* then two hundred millions of Crownes in debt.

So that wee may ſay, this King findes France, after *Charles the ninth*, and *Henry the third*, as *Vefpafian* found the Empire after *Nero*, and *Caligula*, whereof the one had giuen away five and fifty millions, and the other had ſpent ſixtie leuen in one yeere. Wherupon he protesteth in open Senate, *Quadringenties millies. i. 1000. mill. opus eſſe ut resp. ſtarre poſſit*. But no maruaile, though the Crowne of France grew farre into debt, conſidering that even before theſe Ciuill warres, when was no ſuch neceſſitie of expence, *Henry the ſecond* ought more in 12. yeeres, ſaith *Bodin*, then his predeceſſors had *Bodin l. 3.* leuied vpon France in forty yeres before by all meanes.

And the Chancellour auoweth to the Court of Par- *com. de
liamēt*, in *Francis the ſecond* his time, that the King could not quit his debts, which his Grand-father and Father left him in, in ten yeres: Which debts, *Bodin* in *Bodin l. 6.* particular proueth, to bee about the ſumme of fortie

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three millions, which in the same place hee setteth down, namely, 2312610. *De prests gratuits*, (of loane or priuy Seales, *Dont il ne payoiet point d' interest*, 15926555. for which hee payed interest: and 773979. which he was yet owing in arrerages, of the vsance behinde to be paide. Besides, to the *Duke of Ferrara*, and other debts for marriages, to the summe of 8514592. Besides other debts to particular Merchants, of 1564787. As also the summe of 14961778. for which his Aides, Domaine, and Gabelle of Salt was engaged. And lastly, 3000000. which he ought to the *Hostell de Paris*, to the Chamber or Towne house of *Paris*.

But the beginning of all this is imputed to *Francis* the first, who hauing in his Coffers, one million, and seuen hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, would notwithstanding take vp great imprests of money at great vsance, to enable himselfe to goe through with his warres in *Italy*. A course very ill taken: and (if we may compare great things with small) much like to a couetous and greedie-minded man, who will venter vpon a purchase of his neighbours land, before he bee well prouided for such a purpose, but taketh vp money to loane, which so eateth into him, as he is at last forced not onely to sell his new purchase, but his ancient inheritance also.

For by these great interests, a Prince is brought to one of these two extremities, either viterly to overthrow his Domaine and Finances, whereof the Kings of *France* are good examples: or else to play Bankrupt and pay no body, as now of late the King of *Spaine* hath done, with the Merchants of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Ausburg*, and almost all the Bankes in *Christendome*: insomuch as
the

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the last yeere, when I was in Italy, ye should heare them say in derision, that the King of Spayne had made more ill faces vpon the Exchange, in one day, then *Michael Angelo*, the famous Paynter and Caruer, had euer made good faces in all his life.

King *Philip* learned this kind of borrowing, of *Charles* the fift, his father, who at one time was indebted fiftie millions, for which his Domaynes, and Reuenues of *Naples*, and *Millaine* were morgaged, and once alio in twenty yeres discharged all his debts on this fashion. And surely so they may, and yet the Creditors bee no losers (so vnreasonable is the interest they take) insomuch, as the King of Spayne payeth thirty, or forty, at *Bedin. li. 3* the least, in the hundred, for all the money hee hath of the *Genoueses*, before his Souldiers receiue it in the Low Countries.

The French Kings, not being able to crye quittance with their *Creanciers* (Creditors) in like maner, but running on further, and further, these fortie yeeres, as having great troubles, and by consequent great charges, and little or no benefit by their Finances, and ayds (by reason of the former alienation) wherewith to defray the: It must needes be thought, that now the Crowne of France is infinitely indebted, but whether to the summe of two hundred millions or no (though it be generally reported) I dare not say.

Monsieur Bretagne, in *Charles* 9. anno, 1562. in his *Harangue* (Oration) for the third estate at the assembly *com. de l'estat.* of *Saint Germaine*, after many wayes disputed how to pay that Kings debts, concludes this as the best: The temporall liuings of the Church (sayth hee) are foure millions of rent, yeerely: this sold, would amount to

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one hundred and twentie millions. Of these, forty eight millions may be put in sure hands, to interest, for the Clergie, which would yeerely yeeld them their foure millions, *à denier douze*, at 8. and one third of eight in the hundred, as commonly they let in France. Then would remaine for the King seuenty two millions: where with forty two millions hee might pay his debts, and redeeme his Domaine and Finances morgaged: And with the thirtie that remayne, he might fortifie his frontiers, entartayne his Garrisons, encrease his *Ban* and *Arrierban*, and furnish himselfe with Shipping. It is in those dayes, to wise a Counsellor, as was any in the land, could not devise possibly how to pay the Kings debtes, without selling the Church lands, you may imagine it will be a hard matter, to devise how to discharge them now, that they bee growne fife times so great, as then they were. For all his Domayne is morgaged, as before is sayd, or at least the greater part, and (as *Le Noué* sayth) that is engaged for 15. millions, which is worth 50.

Le Noué. His rents of his Aydes are also gone: for they are engaged to each Generallity in France, as of *Paris, Rouen, Caen, &c.* to the number of one & twenty of them, and each hath his portion therein: which would be too tedious to set downe in particular. His Offices are all sold, and many thousand erected, ouer and besides the ordinarie, and money also made of them. His poore people are already with these ciuill Warres so spoyled; and impouerished, as there is almost nothing to be had.

Recueil. I see not therefore, but we should say of this King, as the *Recueil de l'estat de France* saith of the Duke of *Savoy*, *Quant à son argens, pour faire bonne chere en sa maison il y en*

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il y en a assez, mais pour faire me si grande guerre, non: As touching his money, hee hath enough to make good cheare at home, but not to maintayne so great a warre. So hee, to make merry with his friends, in this merry time of peace, hath money enough: *mais pour payer une si grande summe, non:* But not to pay so great a summe of debtes.

It now remayneth to speake of his Entrade, or Revenue: For a Prince cannot haue peace without war, nor warre without men, nor men without money, nor money without meanes: nor are there any meanes but these, viz. First, *Domaine*. Secondly, *Conquests*. Thirdly, *nue.* *Dons des amys.* Fourthly, *Pension des allies.* Fifithly, *Traffique.* *Bodin. I. 6.* Sixtly, *Imposts sur les Marchandisez apportes ou emportes.* Seuenthly, *Imposts des Subiects:* First, *Domayne.* Secondly, *Conquests.* Thirdly, *Giftes of his friends.* Fourthly, *Pension of his Contederates.* Fiftly, *Traffike.* Sixtly, *Impositions vpon Marchandise, brought in, or carried out.* Seuenthly, *Impositions vpon his Subiects.* And yet one other, which the Kings of France haue lately invented to helpe, when all other fayled, which is, Eightly, *the sales of Offices*, more dangerous and preiudiciable to the State, then any other.

Of these 8, meanes I wil give you particular obseruations, and then conclude, what is generally holden to be the whole Revenue of the Crowne of France, by all these meanes.

First, the Domayne is, as it were, the Dowre which the State brings to the King her Husband, for her maintenance: And therefore one saith, *maigne n'est au Roy ains à la Coronne:* Belongs not to the King, *Haill. I. 3.* but to the Crowne.

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There are 2. sorts of Domaines, First, the rent which the King holds in his hands, of the Feifes giuen for service: Secondly, that which is united and incorporate to the Crowne. The rights of the Domaine are these: *Rents, Fifes, payments at alienations, tributes, peages, toll,* of whatsoeuer enters or comes out of Cities, Woods, forrests, and diuers other.

This is the most ancient and most lawfull ground and foundation of Finances: For yee shall obserue in *Liny li. 1.* *Liny*, that at the first there were in the territorie of *Rome*, onely eighteene thousand Acres of land, whereof one third was for the Church and sacrifices, another for the Resp. and the rest for particular men. This is also confirmed by *Dion. Hal.* *Dionisius Halicarnassus*, who liued with Master *lb. 2.* *Varro*, the true Register of the Romane antiquities, as *Plinie*, *Bodin* calls him. A Citizen of *Rome* had but two Acres, but after the expulsion of *Tarquinius*, they had 7. apiece. This diuision among the *Romanes*, was deriuued from the *Egyptians*, who did diuide their whole land into *Diod. h. 2.* three parts: One for the Church, another for the King, and the third for the Calasyres.

That is Domaine, which belongeth to the Crowne: First, either by Possession, time out of mind: Or secondly, by Reunion, for want of heires males, as the Appennages when they returne: Thirdly, or by Confiscation, for want of such as can make iust claime, much like our concealed lands in England: Or lastly, by Confiscation of offenders inheritances.

Comment. Of this last sort wee reade, that in the time of *Saint de l' Estat.* *Leves*, there were confiscked to the Domaine, the Counties of *Dreux, Bray, Foyenne, and Atonstrelil, Langue-docke, Guyenne, Anioye, Maine, Turraine, Auvergne*: And

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And after, in the time of *Philip*, the *Duchy of Alençon*, the *Counties of Perche, Périgort, Poitou, La Marche Augelesme, & Marquise of Saluzzes*. But *Bodin* saith, most of this came to the *Crowne* by force: *La sieur de la serre*: He saith, it came by way of exchange or purchase. But the Author of the *Commentaries*, of the estate of the Religion, and policie of France, is of the first opinion. Thus great was the *Domayne* in former times, that of it selfe, without oppressing the people with Impositions, it was sufficient to maintayne the State and greatness of the Kings of France, but it is now vitterly wasted. *On sçait bien que le Domaine qui seul entretenoit la Dern. splendeur et le lustre de l'estat Royal, n'est tel qu'il estoit de temps du regne des roys Loys, 11. Ch. 8. et. Lo. 12. La continuacion des guerres l'a fait engager en plusieurs mains, entelle sorte qu'il faudroit plus de quinze ou seize millions des liures pour rachepter ce qui en vaut plus de cinquante millions*: Tis well knowne, that the *Domayne*, which alone maintained heretofore the beauty and lustre of the Royall Estate, is not now such, as it was in the raignes of King *Leuws 11. Charles 8. and Leuws 12.* The continuance of our warrs, hath caused it to be engaged in many hands, in such sort, that there is neede of more then fifteen or 16. thousand pound Sterling, to redeeme that which is worth aboue 5. millions of poundes. And *Bodin* saith, that almost all the *Counties, Baronies, and Seigneuries* of the *Domaine*, are aliened for the ninth or tenth part of that they be worth. Yee must obserue, that the lands of the *Domaine* are not alienable, but in two cases. 1. *Pour l' Apennage des freres*. 2. *Pour les guerres*. 1. For *Haill. 1. 3.* the *Apennage* of the Kings brother. 2. For the warrs: & these must be confirmed by the Arrest of the Parliament.

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For in all other cases, all Lawyers and Historiens of France agree, that it is inalienable, and many Arrests haue beeene made of late yeeres to confirme it. I haue read, that the *Charta magna* of England saith, the Kings when they are crowned, take an othe, not to aliene it: so doe they heere in France. And there is no prescription of time, to make such sales or alienations good, but that they may bee recouered and repurchased, whensoeuer the Crowne is able.

*Plut. Cato
Cens.*

To this purpose *Plutarch* layth well, *Men cannot prescribe against God, nor particulars against the Republique.*

*Con-
quest.*

2. Concerning the second meanes of raysing mony by Conquests, the present state of France can yeeld no example; it hath bene long on the losing hand: but ye shall read, that the Turke dayly, when hee conquereth a Prouince or Countrey, giues the Lands to such as shal serue him in the Warres, whom he sendeth thither as it were Colonies, to enjoy eche one his portion of some foure and twenty Acres of our measure, or as other reckon, thirty. He giues them also Wheat to feed their land, vpon condition to pay him halfe the fruits of the feuenthe yeere, and halfe of the twelvth: and when the party dies, his goods goe to the Turke: so that the *parties casuelles*, casuallties (as they heere call them) is a great revenue to him.

*Parties
Casuelles
in France,
is only
sale of
Offices.*

So the Spanyard hath sent of his people into *Pers*, there to inhabit (much like this course the Turke takes) and from thence yerely receyueth to the value of two millions, that is, the fist of such Gold and siluer, and other commodities, as are there found.

3. For the third meanes, it is now out of season: it
was

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was vsed in that good olde world, when *on se monchois sur le marche*: Men wiped their nose on their sleeve, (as the French man sayes:) for now Princes are so farre from giuing, as they hardly pay that they owe.

Of thete gifts yee shall reade in *Polibius, Florus, and o-*
thers: As of the King of Egypt, who sent to the Citie
of Rome, when it was distresled by Hannibal, the summe *Linx. 1. 38*
of 400000. Crownes. And Hieron of Sicili sent them
a Crowne of gold, of three hundred pounds weight.
They of Rhodes had an olde ruinous Colosse fell downe,
which stood hard by the Key, and in the fall brake thre
or fourte Shippes: to repayre which losse, the King of
Egypt sent them 180000. Crownes in gold, belides
a great quantity of siluer, and three thousand myuds of
wheate: Hieron sent them 60000. Crownes. So did Pto- *Polib. 1. 4.*
lemy send great gifts to them of Jerusalem: And ye shall
reade of sixe kingdoms giuen to the Romanes, by testa
ment: and the Dutchy of Guelderland giuen to the
Duke of Burgogne, not much aboue an hundred yeeres *Commiss.*
since.

4 The fourth meanes also of Pension, which Princes haue vpon some consideration of their Allies, helpeth *Pension*
 the French Kings Coleis nothing at all: for they rather giue then take: As for example, to diuers cantons of the *Swisses*, to whome at first they payd not aboue one hundred and twentie thousand *liures* yeerely: but for these fifty yeeres, they never pay less then the yere, then two millions. For layth *Commiss.*, *Lewes* 11. entred league with the *Swisses*, and they into his Pension: to whom he yeerely gave fortie thousand *Flourins*, whereof twentie to the Cities, and twentie to particular men, vpon condition to haue accrayne proportion of their
 O forces,

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forces to serue him in his Warres vpon all occasions. An aduantagious alliance for the Swisse in my opinion, who by this meanes enrich them selues, cleare their Countrey of many idle and bad members, and lastly, breed good Souldiers, to serue them selues vpon need, at another mans cost. The Turke hath also a pension of *Bodin, li. 5* the Emperour of Germany, for certaine Lands he holdeth in *Hungarie*: which he notwithstanding vanteth to be a Tribute. Many examples might bee alledged of this kinde, as of *Philip of Macedone*, that by pensions got all *Greece* partial on his side: and the Kings of *Persia* by pension, got euer the Forces of *Asia* diverted.

*Plut. Ly-
sander.* *Traf-
ficke.* *5* The fist, which is of Trafficke, auaileth nothing the French Kings: for they holde it heere a base and sordid kind of profession for a Gentleman, much more for a King, to trade by Marchandize. And by the Lawes of *England*, *France* and *Germany*, hee loseth the qualtie of a Nobleman, that doth trafficke. The Law *Clodia* forbad a *Romane* Senatour to trade, or haue Shippe of *bury li. 21.* burthen, *Quæstus omnis patribus indecorus vius est*: The Senatours esteemed any kinde of trade or trafficke unworthy of their ranke. And the *Emperours* Law forbad all Gentlemen and Churchmen to vse it.

Cicero, off. 6. Notwithstanding these Lawes, and the disparagement that it brings to Nobilitie (for saith *Tully*, *Merca-
tores sans sordidum genus hominum*, Merchants are a base kinde of people) yet so sweete is the fauour of gaine, that many haue vsed this as no small meanes to encrease their Finances. The great Duke of *Tuscaine* present, gaines infinitely this way, and the more by his most vnlawfull and tyrannous Monopolies: for hee com-
monly buyeth vp all the graine of his owne Countrie,

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at his owne price: yea, and that which commeth from other places also, and then sendeth out a *Bando* or *Proclamation*, that no man shall sell any *Corne* throughout his State, till his owne be folde, forcing also all *Bakers* and other people to buy thereof. This maner of engrossing *Alphonſus of Arragon* also vſed, by the testimoniſe of *Bodin*. The Kings of *Portugall* also, and the *Seignoria* of *Venice*, haue bene great traders by *Marchandise*, but it hath beeſte in an honeſter fashion, at *Sea*, and not to the grinding of their poore Subiects. The *Nobilite* also of *Italy*, in all *Cities* (except *Naples*) holde it no diſhonour to trafficke in *grosſe*, as yee shall generally obſerue when yee come into that *Coutrie*.

6 The ſixt meaneſ of raiſing money vpon all wares *Impoſt*, and *Marchandise*, that come in & goe out of the *Countrie*, is the moſt ancient and beſt agreeing with reaſon, *Marchandise* and vſed by all *Princes* in the world. The late troubles *disſe*. haue made the benefit hereof very ſmall to the *Crowne* of *France*, for theſe many yeeres past. The particulares comprised vnder this branch, are theſe: *Le hauſ paſſage*, *ou Domaine foraine*, and *La traicté foraine*: *Customes* inward, and outward: By theſe the Prince is to haue *Impoſt*, *Cinq pour cent*, fine in the hundred: ſo much iuſt had the *Romanes*, *Telle Cicerone in Pratura Siciliensi*, As *Cicero* witneſſeth in his *Pretorſhip of Sicilia*. The *Turke* takes, *Dix pour cent*, Ten in the hundred of the ſtranger, and *cinq*, fine, of the Subiects: the *French* quite contrary. You muſt obſerue, that that which here I call the *Domaine foraine*, is generally called the *Aides*: firſt, graunted by the *Estates* to *Charles Duke of Normandie*, when *John* his Father was priſoner in *England*: which was the paiment of 12. *Deniers*, the *liure*, *ſur toutes les marchandises* *Haill. 3.* *Bodin. li. 8.*

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et denrees qui seroyent vendus en ce royaume excepte sur le vin, le bled, le sel, et autres breuages: mais depuis il s'est fait perpetuel et augmenté, par l'imposition du vin vendu en gros partout, & en Normandie en detaille: Vpō all marchāizes and wares which should be sold in this Kingdome, except vpon Wine, Corne, Salt, and all maner of drinke: but since it hath beene made perpetuall, and augmented by the imposition vpon Wine sold euery where, and in Normandie by retaile.

This is like the Gabel vpon all maner offoode, which the Princes take of their Subiects through *Italy*, or the Aisse vpon bread and beere which the *States* haue in the Lo^v countryes: a grieuance, whereof we smart not in England, as also we are free frō many other burthens, which the people of these Countries are forced to beare: and yet yee shall heare our people (therefore ignorant of their owne happiness, which they enjoy vnder the blessed Gouernement of our gracious Soueraigne, because they knew not the miseries of others) murmur and grudge at the payment of a Taxe or Subsidie, as a matter insupportable, which, in comparison of the impositions laid vpon others, is a matter of nothing.

Touching the Gabell of Salt (which is also compriſed vnder this head) Some say it was first erected by *Philippe le Long*: Others by *Philip de Valois*, 1328. True it is, that the ordinance of *Francis the first*, 1541. sets downe an impost of twentie foure *Liures* vpon euery *May*: And in the yeere 1543. an ordinance was made for Gabell, to be taken vpon all Sea-fish salted. And in 1544. it was ordained, that all Salt should bee sold and distributed into the *Magazines*, or Storehouses of euery feuerall

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seuerall generalitie. The benefit of this one commodi-
tie, hath beene very commodious to the Crowne, till *Dern, trew.*
the yere eightie one, whē the King was forced for want
of money to let it out to others: whereby he lost, as is in
my Authour prooued, eight hundred thirtie sixe thou-
sand Crownes yeerely. Here is also a kinde of taxe, cal-
led the *Equinallent*, that is, an imposition laide vpon
some persons and places (but not generally) to haue li-
bertie to buy and sell Salt, and to be exempt from the
Magazines.

The Impost of Wine is laide vpon all, without ex-
ception or exemption whatsoeuer, it is the twentieth
part to the King: besides all other rights, as of Billots,
entring into Cities, passages by land or ryuer, and such
like: Besides, a later imposition of five *Sols* vpon eury
Muy, leuied by *Charles the ninth* 1561.

Concerning the (*Traicté foraine*) it is of like nature
with the Aides, saue that it is leuiable vpon more parti-
cular sorts of Marchandise: besides, the Aides is an Im-
post vpon things spent in the Land: and the *Traicté for-
aine*, is of such commodities as are transported out: As
of Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Wine, Vineger, Veriuice,
Cidre, Beesles, Muttons, Veales, Lambes, Swine, Horses,
Lard, Bacon, Tallow, Oyle, Cheeze, Fish of all sortes,
Drougs of all sortes, Mettals of all sortes, Silkes and
clothes of all sortes, Leather of all sortes; and finally all o-
ther marchandise, as Fruites, Parchment, Paper, Glasle,
Wood, Roopes, &c.

7 The seventh ground or foundation of Finances, *Imposi-
tion*, is the *Imposition* vpon the *Subiect*: that is, not vpon the *on* *upon*
Wares or commodities, but vpon the persons them- *the Sub-
iect*, according to their abilitie, and it is much like the *ieet*.

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leuying of the taxe and subsidie in England, where every one payeth rateably to the lands and goods he posseseth. And therefore *Haillan* judgeth well, to say, they bee neither personall, nor reall, but mixt, *imposées au lieu du domicile, ayant egard à tous les biens du taillable, en quelque part qu'ils soyent assis et posiez*; Assessed in the place of their dwelling, according to all the goods of the partie asselfed, in what part soever they lye or abide.

Haillan. 3. These (*tailles*) were first rayzed by *Saint Lewes* (but by way of extraordinary Subsidie.) *Charles the 7.* made them ordinary for the maintenance of his *Gendarmerie*. And whereas at first they were never leuyed but by consent of the three States, and to endure but while the warre lasted, he made them perpetuall. Therefore saith

Haillan. 3. one, *Ce qu'estoit accordé par grace, est depuis venu patrimonial et hereditaire aux roys*: That which was at first yeelded of fauour, is become since patrimoniall and hereditarie to our Kings. (But this is a common course, I think there is no countrey in *Europe* but can giue instances therof.) There is yet to be obserued, that these *tailles* are onely lyable vpon the *Plat pais* (the County) all Cities are exempt, as also all Officers of the Kings house, all Counsellors, Lawyers, and Officers of Courtes of Parliament, all the Nobilitie, the *Gendarmes*, the Officers of warre, the Graduates of Vniuersities, &c.

The (*tasillon*) is another imposition, raised by *Henrie, 7.* anno, 1549. which was to attend the wages of the *gendarmes*, who by reason of the smalnesse of their pay, lay vpon the poore villages, and ate them vp; for the eate whereof this imposition was devised, which also lyeth vpon the poore Countrey-man: whereby at first hee was somewhat eased; But now all is peruerced; the poore

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poore is still oppressed, and yet he payeth still both *taille* and *taillons*.

Lastly, there is the *sold*, or pay of 50000. foote, which ye may remember were erected by *Leves* the eleuenth, in eight legions, sixe thousand to a legion, which with their Officers, come about this number. To maintaine these Legions, there was a taxe leuyed vpon all sortes of persons priuiledged in the (*taille*) but onely the Nobles. (There are also the *Decymes* (Tenthes) leuyed vpon the *Idem. li. 3* Churche.) For the leuying of the *taille*, *taillons*, and *sold de 50000. gens a pied*, wages of 50000. foote. Ye must note, that the King sends his Letters Patentes by Commissioners, to the Treasurers of each Generalitie: these, according to the summe, rate each Election, (this is, as yee would say, a hundred in a shire, or a Bailywike) and then send to these Elections, to haue the said summe gathered in their severall Townes, and Hamlets, according as they be rated.

So doe they to the *Maireures, Consuls, Escheuins, and chiefe Officers of every City*, that are lyable to any of these payments, who rating every man according to his abilitie, giue these Rollis to certayne Collectors to gather it vp: These are bound to bring it quarterly to the Receiuers. These carry it to the Receiuers generall, in the same *species* that they receiued it: and from them to haue an Acquittance, after the Accounts haue beene perused by the Controler generall.

And these are all the meanes, by which Princes rayse their Finances, whereof yee see some, nothing to pertaine to the French King, but to others; and some to him onely, not to others.

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Sale of Offices 8. There yet remayneth one other meanes (though extraordinary) to a Prince, to get money, which the necessities of the times, and the want of other meanes, haue forced the French Kings of late yeeses to use. This is the vent or sales of Offices, a very dangerous & hurtfull Marchandize, both for the Prince and subiect.

Bodin. I. 6. This Lesson (sayth Bodin) the French Kings first learned of the Popes, with whom it is still as familiar, as olde, to sell Bishopricks, liuings, & Ecclesiasticall promotions. A course, saith one *de grande consequence & tres-perilleuse, mais couverte de necessite*: of great and dangerous consequence, but cloaked with necessity. It is indeed thrice dangerous, because sales of offices cause sales of Iustice: for what these Purchakers pay in grosse, they must needs get in retayle, forgetting what was sayd to Sophocles, the Gouvernour of Athens, *Il faut qu'un Gouverneur ait non seulement les mains nettes, mais les yeur aussi*: A Gouvernour must not onely haue his hands cleane, but his eyes also. They cannot say, as Pericles did on his deathbed, *Quenul Athenien pour occasion de luy, n' auoit onc porterobbe noire*: He had never made any Athenian weare mourning robe. For these, by selling Iustice, and robbing the poore of their right, giue the faterlesle and oppressed Widdowe iust caute to complainye, and of wearing that mourning robe that Plutarch speakes of.

Hail. I. 3. Saint Lewes, among many other good Lawes, and reuocation of diuers impositions extraordinary, made also an Edict against the sale of Offices. And it is reported of Alexander Seuerus; that he should say when one offered a peice of money for a certayne Office, *Non patiar mercatores potestatum*: I will suffer none to trafique Offices. Therefore sayth the Athenian Orator

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to *Timarchus*, *That the lines, not the Purses of them that stooode for Offices, were to be looked into*. And yee shall reade *Demosthen* in *Plutarch*, that he which anciently stooode for an Office ^{was}, in *Rome*, was to shew himselfe certaine dayes before the Election, in the *Foras* or open streetes, apparelled in a thinne Robe[;] that through the same, the people might see the wounds he had had in the *W^{ar}res* for his Countries seruice, and thereafter as he had deserued, ^{Plu. Cest.} to choose him. And lest any man should by briberie, corruption, or any such indirect and vnlawfull way, seeke to get any Office or Authoritie, thele olde *Roman*s made many good and wholesome Lawes, against such maner of proceedings (which they called *Ambitus*) i. an Ambicious seeking of preferment. This the *Lex Petilia* forbad: The *Lex Calphurnia* declared them ^{Bodin. li. 5} that were detected of any such course, to be vncapable of that Office for euer. And the *Lex Tullia* banished them that were conuinced (*Ambitus*) for ten yeeres; ^{Cicer. pro Mure.} so hatefull were such purchases in those dayes.

And in the time of *Ferdinand*, they had the like law *Turquet*, in Spaine, against the buying of any Office, whether of ^{hist. Sp.} Warre or Iustice: *Que ose quedam vender ny trocar, of- ficios de Alcaldid, ny Algenziladgo, ny Regimiento, ny vientes quatria, ny fid executoria, ny iuraderia.*

Thus you may obserue, how hurtfull soever it be to Common wealths, and how much so euer forbidden, yet that necessitie oftentimes forceth Princes, to that which is most losse to the meselues. *La paureté quelques fois constraint le Roy de casser bonnes loix pour subvenir à ses affaires: et depuis qu' une fois on a fait cette ouverture il est presqu' impossible d'y remedier: Pouertie sometimes con-*

P straineth

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straineth the King to breake good Lawes, to helpe his affaires, and when once this hole is made in the Lawes, it is almost impossible to keepe it.

It is a strangething to consider, and incredible to beeleeue, what infinite masses of money haue bene made heere in *France* by these sales, where there is not that Collector, Cōtroller, Treasurer, Sergeant, or subalterne Office whatsoeuer, but he hath bought it of the Prince, and at no small rate: for I haue heard it credibly reported, and yee shall reade also in late writers, that these Offices are bought in *France* at a dearer rate then our Lands in *England* of twentie yeeres purchase. Yee must obserue they haue them for terme of life, and after, to returne to the King who is againe to sell them. A man in his sicknes, or in danger of death, or vpon any neede whatsoeuer, may sell this his Office, or resigne it to his Sonne or friend whatsoeuer: which sale is good, if the party liue fortie daies after the sale or resignation is confirmed, otherwise not. Now we are to consider, what Entrade or Reuenew, the French King yeerely maketh by any or all of the meanes abouesaid.

The estate of the Finances, Domaine, and al in *Charles Bodin. l. 6.* the sixt time, Anno 1449. was but 1400000. *Lires.* *Henry the second, leugit sur son peuple par voie ordinaire quinze millions des francs tous les ans: dint quelque partie a depuis este engagée pour les dettes: Non obstant lesquelles nostre Roy en tirs autant aujourd'buy: rayled vpon his people by way of ordinarie Reuenew, fifteene thousand pound sterlنج a yeere: whereof some part hath since bene aliened for the debts of the Crowne, which notwithstanding the King raylseth as much now.*

But

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But yee may obserue, that this summe is of late yeres growne much greater, (by two thirds) as is generally beleueed: for whereas in those dayes, some three or fourescore yeeres, since the ordinarie summe was fifteene millions of *Francs* or *Liures*, it is now so many of Crownes. And *Monsieur Rinaldi*, Treasurer to the Duke of *Mayenne*, shamed not some eight yeres since to say, that his Master had imployed the Realme of France to a better rent, then any Prince had done beforetimes: For saith he, *En lieu qu' il ne valloit que dix huict ou vingt millions, il en vaut aujourd'buy cinquante*: Whereas it was woorth but eighteene or twentie thousand pound sterlinc, it is now woorth five millions sterlinc.

And another saith, that onely by the sales of Offices in twentie yeeres space, *Le Roy en a tire cent trent et neuf millions*: The King hath rayled one hundred thirtie and nine millions, which is after the rate of seuen millions the yeere. So that it is probably to be inferred, that the Reuenewes are at leſt fifteene millions of Crownes; wherein all late writers agree: Neither must we think, that men are mistaken, by counting Crownes for *Liures* (considering that *Bodin*, and *La Nowe*, and most elder writers speake onely of *Liures*, not of Crownes.) For the maner of Accompt of France, is by especiall ordinance commaunded to bee made by Crownes, and that of *Liures* to cease: So that whensoeuer yee reade in the Stories of France, of any summe of thousands, millions, or ſuch like, without naming either *francs* or Crownes: you are to reſpect the times when it was written; for if it was aboue twentie yeeres past, they meane *Liures* or *Francs*: if of latter yeres then twentie, it is alwayes to be

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understoode they speake of Crownes : this rule will not faile you.

Hauing briefly spoken of his Entrade, and sufficient-
ly of the meanes by which he raiseth it, as especially by
the last, which is not the least : namely , the sales of
Offices , which are now bestowed, not vpon them
which can execute them best, but such as can giue the
most; of whome we may say, as *Commissaries* of them of his
Commissaries. time, presently after the Battell of *Monilberry*, Tel perdoit
ses offices et estates pour s'en estre fuy , et furent donnees a autres
qui auoyent fuy dix lieues plus loing : Some lost their Offi-
ces and estates for running away , the which were be-
stowed vpon others, that ranne ten leagues further: So
these Offices were taken from them that pilled the peo-
ple much , and bestowed vpon others that pill them
ten times more.

*Officers of
his Fi-
nances.*

Hauing, I say, spoken sufficiently of these, it remai-
neth I keepe the same course I haue done hitherto : that
is, after the relation of the Court, to reckon vp the Of-
ficers of Court, and after the discourse of his Forces, to
speake of his Officers of warre: So here likewise after
mention made of his Finances and Reuenewes, to re-
member his Financers and Officers , vied for the Col-
lection, keeping and disposing of the same. Of which
officers, we may say, as the Philosopher sayes of wiues,
that they be *Mala necessaria*: Necessarie euils, And as he
saith of them, The lesse of euils is the best: so say we of
these, The fewer the better. But when wee reade, that
the olde *Romanes* had of these but one in a Prouince,
you shall obserue heere in some Prouince not so fewe
as one thousand.

The

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The chiefe of these is the *Treasurer d'Espargne*, of the *Treasu-.*
Exchequer, instituted in *Francis* the first his time, in *rer d'Es-*
place of the *Receyuer generall*. There is also another *pargne*.
Treasurer of the parties casuelles, *Casualties*. The third *Treas. de*
solt are the *Treasurers generaux des Finances*, whom also *parties*
they call Treasurers of France; (for as for the *Treasurers casuelles*,
ordinary and extraordinary of the Warres, we haue al- *Treas.*
ready spoke of them in the relation of his forces, and *generaux*,
of the Treasur de menus plaisirs, of his *petty pleasures*, *Treas. de*
when we spoke of his Court.) The number of these *menus pl.*
Treasurers generall, as also of all other *Ofciers of Fi-*
nances, ye may partly conceue by the number of *Ge-*
neralities which are in France, and the *severall Ofcices*
of eche one of these.

Of these *Generalities* are twenty & one in all *France*, *Generalis-*
Paris, Romen, Caen, Nantes, Toures, Burges, Poictiers, Agen, ties.
Tholouse, Montpellier, Aix, Grenoble, Lion, Ryon, Lyon, Cha-
alons, Amyens, Orleans, Soissons, Lymojes, Moulin.

In eche of these *Generalities* are diuers *Elections*, *Elections*
that is, diuers places for the Receipt of the Finances:
As in that of Orleans are eleven Elections, in the rest
some more, and some lesse, to the number of 170. in al.

In eury *Generality* are ten *Treasurers*; three *Recei-*
uers generall of the Finances; three *Receyuers generall*
*of the *Taillon**; one *Receiuer generall of the *Dimes**; two
*Receyuers generall of the *Woods**; And for eury *Re-*
ceiuer, so many *Controlers generall*: two *Treasurers Contro-*
generall of the extraordinary of the Warre, for *lers*,
the payment of Garrilons and Souldiers in time of
Warre.

Besides all these *generall Officers*, there are also in
eche particular Election, three *Receyuers of the *Taill**,

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three of the Aides, two of the *Taillor*, & as many Controliers, besides all other inferior Officers. If then there be thus many in one Election onely, ye may iudge the infinite number in all France, vpon which they lye, as thicke as the Grassehoppers in Ægypt.

*Chamber of Ac-
counts.* I must here also remember the Chamber of Accounts, the chiefe Court of the Finances: wherein are foure Presidents, twelue Masters, eighteene Auditors, foure Correctors, one Procuror generall, one aduocate, one greffier, sixe huissiers, or Sergeants, and other inferior Officers, to the number (as Bodin sayth) of two hundred, besides servants (and it is likely, the number is not lessened since his time.)

Bodin. l. 5. In conclusion, the Officers here, and of other places, are so exceeding many, as a President of this Court shewed the Estates of France, in the assembly at *Blois*, that of the *Escu*, sixe shillings, which was payd by the Subject, there came but a *testion*, 1. shilling 8. pence to the Kings Cofers.

Many motions haue beeene made, from time to time, for the redresse hereof, but the faction of Financers is so strong, and the summe so huge, which the King owes them, that it is remediless.

Court of Aides. The Court of Aides also is as full of Offices, as that other. These Finances (laith one) *ons esté bromillées, alterées, changées, & reduictes en art si obscure, que peu de gens y entendent, ou peuvent y entendre, si ils ne sont nourrys en la Caballe, de ceux qui l'ont obscurcie:* haue bene so shufled, altered, changed, and reduced into so obscure an Arte, that very few either do, or can vnderstand it, except they haue bene brought vp in their Cabale that haue obscured it. No maruell therefore, though there bee much difference

Hail. l. 4

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difference among men, about the certayntie thereof, either for the truth of the summe, or number of the Officers.

Howbeit, hauing now wound my selfe out of the laborsome Laborinth thereof, directed by the clew of the best writers, and most iudicious Informers, that as yet I could meeete withall, I will proceede to relate of the rest, and first of the Kings Coyne, for that ye know these Financers are neuuer without money: and next that, I will remember the Administration of Justice, and so by consequent speake of the Courts, judges, Lawyers, and such like, who, of all people in the world, hunt after it with greatest greedinesse.

The Coynes of France, are either of Gold, Siluer, or Brasse. In those of Gold I must be better instructed my selfe, for I know not but the Crowne, which is of three or fourre sorts, whereof that of the Sunne is the best, and the halfe Crowne. Those of Siluer are these, the *Livre* or *Franc*, which is 2. shillings sterl. The *quart d'escu*, which is 1. shilling, 6 pence. The *Teston*, which is halfe a *soubs lesse*: The peece of tenne *soubs*, which is 1. shilling sterl. The halfe *quar descu*, the halfe *teston*, and the peece of five *soubs*, that is sixe pence sterl. Those of Brasse, is the peece of sixe Blanks, which is three pence: that of three blankes, three halfe pence. The *soubs* of 12. *deniers*: the *liard* of fourre *deniers*, the *double*, of two: and lastly, the *denier* it selfe, whereof tenne make 1. peny sterl. This baser and smaller kinde of money, hath not beeene vsed in France, but since the beginning of the ciuill warres. The *Teston* is the best siluer. It is a general and a true complaint, that the Coyne is much lesse in France, then it hath beeene, and that there is the better

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halfe of French Crownes gone out of the land within these twenty yeres: whereof is no maruell,considering that marchandise hath almost lien dead, the Countrey vnfruitfull, because vntilled, and many troupes of forrayne Soldiers,especially of Swisses and Reisters, heere all the while payd.

Strabo.

Howsoeuer it decrease in France, true it is that *Bodin* sayth, that it increaseth generally in all these West countries of the world; as also that they haue lesse and lesse in the East parts: For so he reporteth out of *Strabo*, that in former times the Kings of Egypt rayled yesterly vpon their people seuen millions and a halfe. And *Plut. Scyl.* tarch sayth, that *Scylla* taxed *Asia minor* at twelue millions of Crownes, which is little more then the sixt part of that the Turke holds, who notwithstanding at this present rayleth not aboue so much in all his dominions. But in these Countries, as yee see by this Realme of France, the Reuenues still grow greater and greater: of this the abundance of money is no little cause: So is it also the cause, that the prices of all wares are growne, not that things are now more scarce, or people more plentifull, which some will needs perswade themselues to beleue.

Bodin. li. 6

And therefore one reasons well, that sayth, The Reuenue of *Charles* the sixt, which was but fourteene hundred thousand *Franks*, was as sufficient to mayntayne the greatnessse of a French King, as that of *Charles* the synth, which was fifteene millions,considering the price of all things, and pension of Officers enhaunced: And so by consequent, the ranosome of the Sultane of Egypt, of fife hundred thousand *Lisres*, which hee payd the Turke, not much lesse then the three millions of

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of Crownes, which *Francis* the first paide to *Charles* the first.

It remaineth I speake of of the *Administration and Execution of Justice*, and of those places and persons where *Justition* and by whome it is done: I will therefore begin with *of Justice*, their Assemblies, as the highest and greatest Court of al *Assem-*

which well resembleth the *Parliament of England*, the *bliis*.

Diet of the Empire, or the *Counsell of the Amphyrthions* in *Greece*. We may say of these Assemblies of France, where matters are concluded by the multiplicitie of *voyses*, not by the *poyze of reason*, as was laid of the *Romanes elections*, where the *Consull* propounded, and the people approoued by suffrage, or disprooued: or as the *Philosopher Anacharsis* laid of *Solons Commonwealth*: *Et consultat. Solon* *Et sages proposent les matieres, et les fols les decident*: In the *consultations and deliberations of the Greekes*, wise men pro-
ound the matters, and fooles decide them.

There are three especiall causes of calling these Assemblies. The fift, *Quand la succession à la Couronne estoit Dern. douteuse et controuerse, ou qu'il estoit necessaire de pouruoir à troubl. la Regence, durant la captiuité ou minorité des Roys, ou quand ils estoient preclus de l' usage de leurs intendement*: When the succession of the Crowne was doubtful and in controuersie, or when it was to take order for the Regencie during the Kings captiuitie or minoritie, or when they had not the right vse of their wits. Hereof ye haue examples, Anno 1327. *S. Lewes* an infant: and *Charles* the sixt, Anno 1380. *lunaticke*: and 1484. *John* prisoner. For all which occasions, Assemblies were called, to determine who shoulde haue the Regencie of the Realme in the meane while.

To the view of France.

Bid.

The second cause is, *Quand il est question de reformer le Royaume, corriger les abus des Officers, et Magistrats, ou appaier les troubles et seditions:* When there is question of reforming the kingdom, correcting the abuses of Officers and Magistrates, or appeasing troubles and seditions: Hereof ye haue examples, 1412. when a peace was made between the Infants of Orleans & Burgundy, whose houses had long warred one with another, and distract- ed all the Nobilitie of France, to their parts taking. Also anno, 1560. when *Frances* the second called an as- sembly at *Orleans*, for the different of Religion: where the Prince of *Condé* was arrested, and condeimned of treason, and where this young King died, before hee could see the execution. And anno, 1587. an assembly called at *Blois*, for the reformation of the State, & punish- ment of diuers abuses in Magistrates (as the Duke of *Guise* pretended) and for the deposing of the King, as some thought that he intended: others say, that he had here plotted to kill the King, and that the King had but the start of the Duke one day: for if he had deferred the death of the *Guise* till the next day, the lot had fallen up- on himselfe. There is a very iudicious late writer, who discoursing of this assembly at *Blois*, where the three E- states excepted against the Kings ill Government, com- playneth, that of late they are growne too insolent in their demaunds. Ye shall reade in our Histories of such a like Parliament as this, in England, called by *Henry of Derby*, against *Richard the second*.

Mr. du Fay.

Hollin- Head.

Der. 3. sub

The third cause is, *la necessité du Roy ou royaume, où l'on exhortoit aux subsidies, subuentions, aides, et octrois:* The want and necessity of the King or kingdom, in which case the Estates are exhorted to giue Subsidies, subuenti- ons,

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ons, aides, and gratuities, For in former times, the Kings contenting themselves with their Domaine, and impost of such wares, as came in, or went out of the land, (the two most ancient, and most iust grounds of Finances) were not accustomed to levy and impose vpon their Subiects any taxe whatsoeuer, without the consent of the three States, thus assembled. They did not say, as of later yeeres *Lewes* the eleuenth was wont, *Que la France estoit un pré qui se tondoit trois fois l'annee*: That France was a Meddowe, which bee mowed thrice a yeere.

The next Soueraigne Court (for so the French call it) is the Court of Parliament, *le vray temple de la Justice Parlement Françoise: Seige du Roy et de ses Paires*: The true temple of mens. French Justice: Seate of the King and his Peeres: And as *Haillan* calles it, *L'archboutant des droits*: the Buttress of equitie. This Court very much resembleth the Star-Chamber of England, the *Areopage of Athens*, the Senate of *Rome*, the *Consiglio de' dieci of Venice*.

There are no lawes (*laith Haillan*) by which this Court is directed: it iudgeth *secundum eum et bonum*, according to equitie and conscience, and mitigateth the rigour of the Law: *Les nom des Parlements sont appliquez aux compagnies de Cours Souveraines, qui connoissoient en dernier ressort de matieres de justice*: The names of Parliaments are giuen to the bodies of Soueraigne Courtes, which determine without appeal, in matters of Justice.

Of these Courts of Parliament, ye haue eight in France. That of *Paris*, the most ancient & highest in pre-eminence, which at first was ambulatory (as they call it) & ever followed the K. Court, whitherloever it wēt: but

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since *Philip le bel*, it hath beene sedentary in this Citie.
Haill. lib. 3. That of *Grenoble* was erected, anno, 1453. That of *Toulon*, anno, 1302. That of *Bourdeaux*, anno, 1443. That of *Dijon*, in the yeere 1476. That of *Rouen*, in the yeere 1501. That of *Aix*, the same yeere. And lastly, that of *Bresigne*, in the yeere 1553. Anciently all Arch-Bishops, and Bishops might sit and giue voyces in this Parliament of *Paris*: but in 1463, it was decreed, that none but the Bishop of *Paris*, and Abbot of *Saint Denis* might sit there, except he be of the Bloud: for all these are priuiledged.

s. Cic. 3. de legib. The Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, may not depart the Towne, without leaue of the Court, by the ordinance of *Lewes* 12, in the yeere 1499. *Senatores semper adesse debent, quod grauitatem res habet, cum frequens est ordo:* The Senators ought alwayes to be present, because things are carried with more maiestie, when that Court is full.

Haill. l. 3. To this Parliament, they appeale from all other subalterne Courts throughout the Realme, as they doe in *Venice* to the *Consiglio grande*. Neither can the King conclude any warre, or peace, without the aduice and consent hereof: or at least (as *Haillan* sayth) hee demaunderth it for fashion sake, sometimes when the matters are already concluded.

The Parliament of *Paris* consists of seuen Chambers: the *Grande chambre*, and five others of Enquests; and the *Tournelles*, which is the Chamber for the criminal causes, as the other sixe be for the ciuill. It is called the *Tournelles*, because the Judges of the other Chambers sit there by turnses, euery three moneths: *Bodin. l. 4.* the reason whereof *Bodin* giues, that it might not alter the

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the naturall inclination of the Judges, and make them more cruell, by being alwayes exercised in matter of condemnations, and executions. There bee of this Court, of Presidents, Councillors, Cheualliers of honour, Procureurs, Aduocates, Clerkes, Sergeants, and other Officers of all sortes, not so few as two hundred.

Besides this Court, there are also other Courtes for the administration of Iustice, in this Citie, as the *Chatellets of Paris*, with a Lieutenant ciuill, and another criminall, and the *Hostel de Paris*, with a Preuost, and other inferiour Officers, which is, as ye would say, the Guild Hall of the Citie. So haue ye throughout the Realme certayne places, (as all Cities ingeneral) where there be *Chatellets* (like our places of Assise) and in them a Lieutenant, ciuill and criminall, to iudge and determine all causes, reall, or personall, and here many Lawyers and Procurers (as are our Councillors at law, & Attornies) who pleade before these Lieutenants, and Preuosts, and certaine Councillors, which are the Judges in these Courts, whereof the number is incredible in France. Insomuch as ye may well say of them, as is said of *Sienna*, *There be more readers, then auditors: so here be more Pleders then Clients.* This *Chiquanerie* (pettifogging) & multiplicite of pleaders, came first from the Popes Court, when his Seate was at *Auignon* (as my Author saith) who in the same place calles these Aduocates, *les Sourris de Palais*: The Mice of the Palace. These are they that *Rablaiss* (the true *Lucian of France*) calles *Doriphages. i. devouurers of bribes*: whose badnesse he scoffingly taxeth, where he saith, that the diuell was not chayned, till such time as he did eate fasting one morning, the soule of one of the Officers of these Courts; whereupon he was so vexed with

Haill. J. 3.

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the Collicke (saith he) finding a worse deuill then him-selfe rumbling in his belly, as there was no stirre with the collierike Marchant, till he was bound.

The processes and sutes in thele Courts throughout France, are innumerable, wherein wee come nothing neare them; and yet there is no want of these in England: for I haue heard of 340. *Nisi prius* betweene parties tryed at one Assise in Noiff. (as many I thinke, as in halfe England besides.) But these are only twice in the yeere, that causes are tried at Assizes in our Countrey, whereas heere they are tried euery day in the yere, that is not festiuall: So that it is not much vnlikely, that here are as many Processes in seuen yeres, as hane bee in England since the Conquest.

Ordon.
Henry the
second.
1548.

An Aduocate must vse no iniurious words, nor superfluous: he must plead briefly, and recite summarily: hee may bee compelled by the Judge to plead a poore mans cause without fee: Hee must be a Graduate, and haue taken the othe: He may not buy the lands in question of one of the parties: and besides many other inhibitions, he may not enter the *ladoye sans faire collation*: the pleading place, till he haue broken his fast: which in my opinion is needlessle, they are forward enough.

Courts of *Chatelless* in Ci-Baylis. There are besides these Courts of *Chatelless* in Cities, the Courts also of the *Millages & Seneschauses*; *wicks and that is*, of Bayliwicks and Sheriffalties, who, as *Haillans Sherifflas* faith, keepe Courts in eche Prouince, and iudge in all *ties*. matters ciuill and criminall.

Haill. li. 3 There is also the Court of the *Eaues et Forests*, kept *Court of* at the Table of Marble in the Palacie, and infinit others, *Eaues & Forests* which to speake particularly of, would be very tedious, and not very necessary. I will here onely remember you of

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of the two Counsels, which I must confess, not to have their due place: for I should have spoken of them next after the Court of Parliament, or if ye will, next after the Assemblie.

The chiefe of these, as being alwayes about the King, is the *Conseil priué*, or *des affaires*: Priuy Councell, or Councell of affaires: of these Counsellors (amōg which are his foure Secretaries) he calleth certaine euery morning at his rising, to whome he communicates apart his principal and most importing affaires, where are read all letters which come from other Princes, and such like publike busynesse, & after a conclusiō what is to be done, the dispatch thereof is committed to the Secretaries.

The other, is the *Grand Conseil*, or *Conseil d'Estat*: Great Grand Councell, or Councell of Estate: which at first was, as it were, a member of the Parliament, & consisted of the Princes of the Bloud, & Nobility, hauing only to deale in the matters of the policy general of France, or of wars, or of the enacting & publishing of Edicts. But the factiō of *Orléans* & *Burgundy*, caused it to be changed to a choyse number of Counsellors, prouisioned of 1000. crownes pension apeece yearly. Of this Counsel the Chancellor is chiefe, for neither the King himself, nor any Prince of the Bloud comes there. This is the Court, of which the Frenchman saith, every time it is holden, it costs the King 1000. crownes a day. And now, saith *Haillan*, hee cannot keep the so cheape, so infinite is the number of the grown. Where he also complaines, that this *Conseil d'Estat*, which was wont only to determine publike affaires, as the establishment of Justice, the Reglement of Finances, & redressing of common grieuāces, is now so charged with private contentions, as the glory thereof is much diminished.

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Officers Ye shall now note in a word, the Officers that execute and administer Iustice through France, wherein I execution will not be precise to name all, but according to the superficciall course before taken, onely to remember the oner and chiefest.

besides the The Chancellor, anciently served as a Secretary, and so were called in the olde Chartes of France, where he is likewise called the *grand Referendaire*. The Secretary doeth signe, and the Chancellor doeth seale. Some de-
**Liente-
nats, Pre-
uost-Mar-
shals, Pre-
sidents,** rive this word of (*cancellare*) which *Haillan* reprooueth: **Counsellers,** others of *cancellus*. *Cuias* upon the *Code* sayth, they be the same that *Quaestores* were in time of the Empire at **Caes.** &c. *Rome*. Therefore he is sometime called *Quaestor Iustitiae, aboue na- & legum custos: Thesaurus fama publica, & armarium le-
Chancel- lor. *gum: The Judge of Justice, and Keeper of the Lawes,* the Treasurer of publike fame, and Store-house of the Lawes.*

Haill. 4. *Secretary* is the next Office, who at first were called *Clerkes*. Some old Writers call them *Ton aporretion Grammateast*. *Suetonius* calles them *Ab Epistolis or Ema- Procopius, nuenies.* They are eyther of the Finances (which haue their place among the Officers of the Finances, before remembred) or of *Affaires*, which we here speake of: Of these are foure, which are called the principall, *Monsieur Villeroy, Monsieur Genure, Monsieur de Fresne, and Monsieur de Beaulieu.*

Gouernor and Lieu- tenant. *Gouernours* and *Lieutenants* generall of Cities and Prouinces, are as it were *Viceroyes & Regents* of those places committed to them: & indeed the persons sustaining these charges, are much more Noble then those of the Secretaries, as being for the most part confed vpon the *Princes of the Bloud and Peeres of France.*

The

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The Gouvernours of Cities were in oldetime called Dukes, and they of Prouinces, Counts. They were at first onely in frontier Prouinces, but now since the troubles of France, they haue had the commaund ouer Cities and Countries, euен in the middest and bowels of the Land: So that now, saith *Haillan*, France is become *Haill.lib.3.* *Frontiere de tous costez à elle mesme*, A Frontier to it selfe on every side.

There are but few Cities, whereof anciently there were Gouvernours, as *Rochell*, *Calais*, *Peronne*, *Bologne*, *Mondidier*, *Narbonne*, *Bayonne*, and two or three others: Others that had keeping of some small Castle or Fort, was onely called the Keeper, or Captayne at most. But now, saith *Haillan.lib.4.* euery paltry fellow that hath *Haill.lib.4.* the keeping of a *Colombier*, Pigeon-house, must forsooth be called *Monsieur le Gouerneur*, My Lord the Gouernour; and my mistresse his wife, *Madame la Gouernarete*, My Lady the Gouernesse.

The Gouernor of *Daulphenie* hath greatest priuiledges: for he giueth all Offices in his Prouince; in other places they can giue none, except they haue it by expressle words in their Patent. The Gouernor may not be absent aboue sixe moneths in a yere; but the Lieutenant must never be absent, without leaue of the Prince, except the Gouernour be present.

There is yet an Office, whereof I must remember you, which is one of the chielest in France, either for honouer or profit, called *grand Maistre des Eauës & For. Master of reſts*. All matteis concerning the Kings Chales, For. the Eauës reſts, Woods and Waters w. hatsceuer, are determined and For. by him, by the *grand M. Enquesteur*, and by the *Reforma- reſts*. *star*, at the Table of Marble: vnder him are infinite

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sorts of Officers, as *Les Maistres particuliers de chaque for-*
rest, leurs Lieutenants: les grayers, les grayers, segrayers, maistres
des gardes, maistres sergents, gardes des marteaux, procureurs,
greffiers, arpenteurs, collecteurs des amendes, and diuers o-
thers: As the particular Masters of each Forrest, their
Lieutenants, Overseers of the sale of woods, and the o-
ther Officers here specified.

But I will not loade this short Relation, with recko-
ning vp all the diuers and infinite sortes of Officers,
wherewith France her selfe seemeth to be overladen,
as partly yee haue heard alreadie: and yee shall reade in
Bodin, how he complaines, not onely of the multiplicite
of Offices in generall, but also, that euен the Counsell
of Estate is surcharged with number: where you may
likewise obserue, how he approves the Priuie Counsel
of England erected some fourte hundred and odde

Bodin. 1.3. yeeres since, where are neuer, saith he, aboue twentie,
by whose sage direction the Land hath long flourished, en armes
es loix: In armes and lawes. And for the execution of
Lawes, and administration of Justice, yee may remem-
ber what hath beene said before, that the Lawes are
good and iust, but they benot, *inplement exercet, iustly*

Haill. 4.2. executed. Where Haillan comparing the times, *Alors*
(saith he) *on punissoit les grands: depuis on n'a puny que les*
petits, et les grands demeurent impunis, Then great ones
were punished, but since, onely petty fellowes, and the
great ones goe scot-free. So that now, the Lawes of
Plut. Solen France are become like Spiders webbes, which onely
catch the little Flies, and the great ones breake tho-
towe,

Imperial.

Das veniam Coruus, vexas censura Columbas.

Th' en-

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Th'ensnaring Lawes let Crowes goe free,
While simple Dous entangled bee.

Haning now related of the *Topographie* and *Policy* of France, it remayneth I speake somewhat of the *Eccono-
my*, that is, of the people of France, comprised vnder the three Estates, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and Commonalty: of the feuerall humour, profession, and fashion of each of them, which is the third and last branch of this Relation.

The Church Gallicane, is holden the best priu- *His
ledged of all those of Christendome, that haue not yet Clergie
quit their subiection to the Pope.* It hath alwayes pro-
tested against the Inquisition; it is more free from pay-
ments to the Pope, then the Church of Spaine, as also
to the King: for here in Fiance they onely pay the *Dis-
me*: but in Spaine, the King hath his *Tertias, subsidio, pi-
la, and Escuado*: in all, a moytie of the Church living. *Hisp cu-
la, and infiam.* Indeede it is reported of this Catholike King, that hee
hath founded many Abbies and Religious houles: but
what saith his Subiect? *Hee steales the sheepe, and gues the
Tratters for Gods sake.*

In this Church of France are twelue Archbishop-
prickes, one hundred and foure Bishopprickes, fife
hundred and fortie Archpriories, one thousand four
hundred and fiftie Abbies: twelue thousand three hun-
dred and twentie Priories, fife hundred sixtie seuen
Nunneries, one hundred and thirtie thousand Parish
Priests, seuen hundred conuents of Friers, and two hun-
dred fiftie nine Comendams of the order of the Knights
of *Malta*. There are, saith the (*Cabinet du Roy*) three milli- *Cabinet
ons of people that liue vpon the Church of France: au Roy.*
where hee particularly setteth downe in each Diocesse,

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the number of all sortes of Religious people, as also the number of their Whores, Bawds, Bastards, and seruants of all sortes: And why not? (sayth hee) as well as the Magicians vndertake in their Inventory of the Diabolique Monarchy, to set downe the names and surnames of 75. Princes, and seuen millions, foure hundred and ffe thousand, nine hundred, twenty and sixe diuels?

*The tem-
porall li-
nings of
the
Church.* The Church hath, for all this rabble, to liue vpon, these two things: First, her temporall Reuenues, and secondly, her Spirituall, which they call the *baise-mani*. Of her temporall Reuenues, diuers men iudge diversly.

The Cabinet, who in all his computations makes of a Mouse, an Elephant, saith, that they are fourescore millions of Crownes the yeere, besides the *baise-mani*, which is as much more, and besides an infinite prouision which they referue, and is paid them ouer and except their Rents, by their Farmers and Tenants; as of Wheat, foure millions, ffe hundred thousand *septiers*, quarters: of Rye, two millions, three hundred thousand *septiers*, quarters: of Oates, nine hundred thousand: of Barly, eight hundred thousand: of Pease and Beanes, eight hundred sixty thousand: Capons, one hundred sixty thousand: Hennes, ffe hundred sixty thousand: Partridge, ffe hundred thousand: Beeues, twelve thousand: Muttons, one million two hundred thousand: Wine, one million two hundred thousand *cuues*: Egges, seuen millions: Butter, two hundred thirty thousand *quintaux*: Cheese, ffe hundred thousand: Hogges, one hundred thirty sixe thousand: Pigges, three hundred forty thousand: Tallowe, sixty thousand *quintaux*: Hey, ffe hundred thousand loades:

Straw,

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Straw, eight hundred thousand: Wood, two millions: with an infinite proportion of other necessaries, imaginary onely, and incredible. And yet he there avoweth all things, with as great confidence, as if himselfe had had the true abstract from all the Bookes of Accounts in each Monastery and Benefice in this land. For how is it possible the Church shal haue two hundred millions of Crownes yeerely rent, when as by the computation, here are but iust so many Arpens of land in all France: which to rate one with another, at a crowne an Arpen, comes to this account, which hee allowes the Clergy, and then is there nothing left for the other two States, of the Nobilitie and people?

But in as much as the better halfe of their Revenue is by the *basse-mani*, there remaineth the better halfe of the land to the other two States: which notwithstanding is a proportion small ynough.

Neere vnto this reckoning, commeth that which we reade in *Bodin*, of *Aleman*, a president of accounts in *Paris*, whose iudgement must carry good authority in this case, as a thing belonging to his profession, and wherein he was best experienced: The Church Reuenues in land, are reckoned ordinarily, at twelue millions and three hundred thousand *liures*: but I dare iustifie (saith hee) that of twelue partes of the Reuenues of France, the Church possesse seuen.

This opinion *Bodin* seemes to allowe: But it is rather thought to be true, that the *Comment de l'estat* faith, who of the two hundred millions of Arpens, allowes the Church forty seuen millions, which by particulars of their Vineyards, Meddowes, Arable, Pastures, and Heathes, with their woods, is therfore downe: which

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here to followe in particular, were too tedious.

*The spis-
rituall li-
uings.* Besides this temporall, they haue their *Baſe-mani* (as
is said) that consisteth in Churcings, Christnings, Mar-
riages, Burials, Holy-bread, Indulgences, Vowes, Pilgri-
mages, Feasts, Proceſſions, Prayers for catell, for ſeafon-
able weaſter, for children, againſt all maner of diſeases,
and infinite iſch purpoſes; for which the ſuperiſtitious
people will haue a Maſte ſaid, which they pay the Priet
for, particularly: ouer and beſides all this, there is ſcarce
that Arpen in all France, vpon which there is not ſome
Dirige, or de profundis, ſome liberame, Domine, or ſome
reckoning or other, liable.

*Boccacio.
Novella. 9
Giornat. 6
La Noue.* This ſort of people are they, whose life is onely ſpent
in ſpeculation, and their ſpeculation ſuch (as appeaith
by their liues) as that of *Guido Caualc*, whereto *Boccace*
ſpeaketh, *Queste ſue ſpeculatiorum erano ſoloni cercare, ſe
tronarsi poterſe che Iddio non fuſſe*: These his ſpeculations
were onely ſpent in lecking, whether he could finde that
there was no God. These are they, of whome *La Noue*
ſpeaketh, when he ſheweth the three cauies of the mi-
ſeries of France, which he findeith in the three ſtates:
Ireligion in thoſe that make profeſſion of Religion:
Oppreſſion in the Noblesſe: And diſſolution of maners
in the Cominaltie. For (ſaith he) *Impiety ruine les con-
ſciences: Iniuftice enverſe les Eſtats: Diſſolution gaſte les fa-
milles: Impiety ruineth mens conſciences: Iniuftice o-
vertoweth the Common-Wealth: And Diſſolution
marreth particular families.*

*Therefor
med Reli-
gion.* Concerning them of the Reformed Religion, whom
here in contempt they call *Huguenots*, yee may note, that
the number is not ſmaſh, conſidering that after the confe-
rence of *Poſſie*, aboue thirtie yeres ſince, here were found

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2150. Churches of them, whereof not one hath escaped without some murthers, or massacres: and wee may imagine, that since that time, this number is much increased.

Some say, they had the name of *Huguenots*, of the words wherewith they began their Oration, when they protested against the Church of *Rome*, which began thus, *Huc nos venimus, &c.* Hither we are come, &c. As they say, the *Wallons* were called of these words, *ou allons nous?* whither go we? when they were driuen out of their owne country, asking one another whither they should go. But this is not so likely as that of them, who say, that in *Toures* where they first began, there is one of the Gates, called *Hugoes Port*, out of which they of the Religion vsed to passe into the fields, to make their prayers in their priuate assemblies: whereupon they had first the name: for, that one *Hugo* should be the first of that opinion, is generally rejected.

I shall not need to say in this place, that this difference in Religion, of these *Catholicks*, and *Huguenots*, is cleere from the slander which many lay vpon them, they being the occasion of all these late troubles in France: for it hath beene sufficiently already proued, that the ambition of the house of *Guise*, and the parts-taking with them, and those other of *Burbon*, is guilty thereof.

As for Religion, it hath onely beene the cloke, and shaddowe of their ambitious pretences, without the which, they could never haue insinuated themselves so farre into the hearts of the people, who are alwayes the *gras de la bataille*: The maine Battell: and without whome the Nobilitie may well quarrell, but they cannot fight.

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Comment. And therefore ye shall read in some of the same Religion reformed, That there were Huguenots, as well of Estate, as of Religion.

There haue now free permission to protest, and places allotted for exercite, with all liberty of Conscience possible, saue that in the chiefe Cities of France they haue no Churches allowed, neyther can be buried in Christian buriall (as they call it) if any of them dye among the Catholicks, with whome notwithstanding they now liue peaceably, throughout the Countrey. They cannot haue the fauour that *Xamippus* allowed his Dogge, who (as *Plutarch* sayth) for following his master from *Attique* to *Salamine*, and there dying, was solemnly interred, and had a monument railed ouer the place. And n.e thinks, they haue heere small reason to let them liue together in a houle, and not to suffer them to lye together in a Church-yard.

Comment. But as for warring any longer for Religion, the Frenchman vicerly disclaymes it, hee is at last growne wife, marry, he hath bought it somewhat deare: L'Italian est sage auant la main, l'Almayne sur le fasce, & le François, apres le coup: The Italian is wife beforehand; the Almayne, in the doing; and the French, after the thing is done, saith one of their owne Writers. Ie suis piseator sapit.

His Noblesse. Concerning the Nobility of France, *Elle est* (sayth *La Nonce*) *tres valleureuse & courtoise: & n'y a Estat en la Chrestiennete, ou elle soit en si grand nombre:* They are exceeding valorous and courteous; and there is no State in Christendome, where they are in so great number.

It hath bene argued before in this Relation, that there be at least fifty thousand, able to beare Armes: but that

is

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is thought with the most. *Monsieur du Fay* thinkes *Du Fay* them about thirtie thousand: in which number, yee must conclude all degrees of Gentlemen, from the highest to the lowest that beare Armes: for so the French call their *Noblesse*, where as we in England make two distin^Qt orders of the Nobilitie and Gentry (as they call it) *Nobiles sunt, si modo longam annorum seruum numer* *Conf. Neag* *rare possunt, quae eundem onusq; militareis adnexum, in sua* *familia resecurit*; Those are Noble, which can proue a long tract of time, wherein a Fee and Knights service thereto belonging, hath recidid in their family. And another Writer sayth, *In Gallia Nobiles estimantur ex* *generi & vita militari*: In France men are esteemed noble, by blood, and profession of Armes.

And sure, if there be difference in Nobilitie, as there must needs bee, because the causes bee difterent; for some are ennobled by their valour and Martiall knowledge, and others by their Offices and piudence in the manage of matters of Estate: I see no reason, but that these last should be holden the more noble Nobilitie, if I may so say: alwayes giuing the first place to them that are of Noble houses by Race.

For of all thesee three sorts, the French writers speake, when they say: *Il y a d'ference des Nobles*: 1. *Les uns par race*, 2. *Les autres par anoblissement*: et deux sortes d' *anno-* *blissement*: *les uns sont anobisis par lessres deuictus veresies* *Cuias de* *en la Cour de Parlement*, *les autres par le moyen des offices* *sind.* *dont ils sont pourneus*. There is a difference of Nobles: The first, by Race: The second, by ennobling: and of Ennobling there are two sorts: One, by Patent duly prooued in the Court of Parliament: The other, by meane of Offices to which they are aduanced.

S.

And

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Turq. biss.
Spag.

And howsoeuer Turquet hereof inferreth, that it is la
vertu que fait la Noble, &c, car il y a de nobles vilains, et de vi-
lains nobles: Virtue which makes Nobilitie, for, there
are noble Peasants, and peasanly Nobles. Yet sure it is,
that the degenerating of one from the vertue of his An-
cestors, cannot prejudice the Nobilitie, nor eclips the
glory of his succeder, who, as Histories shew, many
times excell all the former of their house.

Peeres of
France.

Hauill. li. 3.

The highest degree of honour in France, is the *Pairrie*,
in which order haue beeene, sometimes 7. sometimes
11. neuer aboue seuenteene, and most commonly 12.
Wherupon they are called the *Twelve Peeres of France*.
These haue the precedence before al the rest of the No-
bilitie, and of these, they of the Bloud, although they
were latest called into the *Pairrie*. Of these Peeres, there
be sixe of the Clergy: 1. Archbisshop & Duke of *Rhemes*.
2. Bishop and Duke of *Laon*. 3. Bishop and Duke
of *Langres*. 4. Bishop and Comte of *Beauuass*. 5. Bishop
and Comte of *Noyon*. 6. Bishop and Comte of *Chaa-
sons*.

Of temporall, 1. Duke of *Burgundie*. 2. Duke of
Normandie. 3. Duke of *Guyenne*. 4. Comte of *Tbolouse*.
5. Comte of *Champagne*. 6. Comte of *Flanders*. Since
these were first instituted, many other houses haue beeene
admitted into the *Pairrie*, by the Kings of France, and
the olde worne out: As to them of *Burgundie* and *Flan-
ders*, were added the Dukes of *Bretagne*, *Barbon*, *Aniow*,
Berry, *Orleans*, the Comtes of *Arthois*, *Eureux*, *Alen-
son*, *Eflampes*, all of the Bloud in *Charles* the fiftes
time.

Since also, in the times of *Charles* the ninth, and *Hen-
ry* the third, haue new *Pairries* beeene erected, as *Neuvers*,

Pandoisne,

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Yandosme, Guise, Monpensier, Beaumont, Albres, Aumal,
Memorency, Vz'es, Pensheur, Mercoeur, loieuse, Espernens,
Bets, Monbisson, Vantadoure, and others.

Yee must obserue, that the ffeancientest *Pairies* of
the temporaltie, are returned to the Crowne, the sixt
which is of Flanders, doth recognize it no longer, as
now being Spanish.

Some say, these *Paires* (*quasi pares inter se*) as much as *Tilles*,
equal among theselues, were first erected by *Charlemagne*;
others, by *Hugh Capet*, & others (which is holden for
the truest) by *Lewes le Jeune*, 1179. to ayd and assist the K.
in his Council (saith *Bodin*.) And therefore this Session *Bodin. I. 3.*
of the King with his *Paires*, was called *Le Parlement sans
querelle*: The Parliament with addition: as the Kings bro-
thers and sisters are called *Monsieur*, and *Madame sans
querelle*: Whereas all other soueraigne Courts are named
with an addition, as *Le Parlement de Paris: le Parl. de Ro-
uenn, &c.*

Yee may also obserue, that they of the Laity
haue the right hand of the King, and the Clergie the
left, in all assemblies or solemne Sessions whatioe-
uer.

I thinke, this diuision of the *Paire*, into these 2. sorts,
was derived from that ancient order of the *Gaules*, of
whome *Caesar* speaketh, *Gallorum Nobilium genera duo, casar.*
Druides, Equites: Of the Nobilitie of *Galla*, are two ^{commen.}
sorts, the *Druides*, and *Gentlemen*: Where he likewise ^{16.}
discourleth of their diuers Offices.

This honour of *Paire* of France, was at first giuen
for life only, afterwards for them and their heires males,
and lastly, to the women also, for default of Males:

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Bern, trou. Who likewise are called to sit in Councils and assemblies (as are the Queenes of France) as at the Assembly at Blois, and at the Arrest of *Counte de Clermont*, in the time of *S. Lewes*, where the *Counte of Flanders* is named present among the other Peeres.

*Priuiled-
ged.* Yee must note, that Peeres and Princes of the blood,
Haill. 6. 3. *Ont priuilege de n' e/tre point subiects à la cire verte, si non au
cas du premier chef de leze Maiesté:* They be priuiledged from being subiect to any Writ, or Processe, but in case of high Treason: and then also no Processe can be commenced against them, before any other Judges whatsoeuer, *que par le Roy seant en sa Court de Parlement suffisam-
ment garnie des Paires de France:* But by the King sitting in his Court of Parliament, sufficiently assisted by the Peeres of France. All other Judges are incompetent.

But to leaue the discourse of this highest honour in France, and to speake of the *Noblesse* in generall, ye shall reade in Historie, that at the end of the second Race of Kings, they began to take their surnames of their principall *Feifs*: Since when, of later yeeres, some haue contrarily put their surnames vpon their *Feifs*, which *Haill. 6. 3.* hath so confounded the *Noblesse* (saith *Haillan*) as it is now hard to finde out the ancient and true Nobilitie.

*Vnlessred
La Noné.* These are they, among whome the prouerbe is still currant, *vn homme de guerre ne deuoit s' auoir, si non escrire
son nom:* A man of War should haue no more learning, but to bee able to write his owne name: And therefore their profession is only Armes & good horsemanship, wherein if they haue attained any perfection, they little esteeme other vertues, not caring what the Philosopher *Plutarch.* saith, *vnseule ancre n' est par suffisante pour tenir ferme
une grande nauire:* One onely Anchor is not sufficient to hold

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hold a great Ship. Nor considering that the olde Gallants of the world were wont to ioyne the one with the other: and ancient Painters were accustomed to paint the Muses altogether in a troupe, to signify, that in a Nobleman they should not be parted.

Bodin sayth, it is reported of *Cato Censorius*, that hee *Bodin*, was a valiant Captayne, a sage Senator, an vpright Judge, and a great Scholler. The world reputes *Cesar* to haue beene a Politician, an Historian, an Orator, a Warrior, excellent in all. The Poet of Greece sayth, *Homer*, that *Agamemnon* was *Amphontros basileus iò agathos, eratotrostò aichmetes*: that is, a good Gouernor, and a tall Soldier. And the Italian Poet sayth of his great *Dante*. Captayne, *Non sò se mi glori Dux o Canalliero*:

Resolute I cannot whether he,
A better Chiefe, or Soldier be.

Just the same with that other verse of *Homer*. And our most worthy English, not Poet (though he well deserue the title) but Captayne and Scholler, both excellent, and titles which better become the noblenesse of his heart and house, of whome the world hath the good name, and all Soldiers the losse: he, I say, when hee would commend his Arcadian Gallant to the full, and yet in few words, sayth, that *be darft and knew*: which well symbolizeth with those former commendations of others, and compriseth all requisite vertues in a Gentleman: for if he haue not valour to dare, and wisdome to know how and when, he wanteth one of the principall supporters of his honour.

*Sir Philip
Sydney.*

The former of these, is, as it were, hereditary to many Noble houses, & continueth therein many descents; but the other is not natural; it is gotten by studie and

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exercise, by reading booke, and seeing of Countries, and therein curiously obseruing what yee see. So then, if by this your trauell, you adde knowledge and vnderstanding to that other vertue, which is hereditary to your houle, you shall resemble those your Ancestors, by whome it hath beene raised to this greatnessse, and be most vnlike this French Nobilitie (that this may not seeme a digression) of whome, for the most part, we

*Plus, The- may say, as Plato said of Cleopantus, Il estoit bien bon hom-
me à armes, mais au demeurant il n' auoit rien de bon : Hee
was a very tall man at armes, but he had no good quality
besides,*

And sure, it is a lamentable case, or at least, misbesee-
ming, in a goodly Countrey, and full of Nobilitie, that
the State should be gouerned, and all matters managed
by them of the *robbatonge*, Aduocates and Procureurs,
and Penne & Inkehorne Gentlemen, and the Noblesse
themselves for want of learning, not to haue imploy-
ment. I count him therefore a very lame Gentleman,
that cannot go to serue his Countrey both in peace and
warre.

La Nouē. Saith *La Nouē* to a Gallant in Court, that was eu-
er talking of warres, and making *Hidalgo*-like Rhodomon-
tades, as being vnfit to talke of any matter of learning, or
vndertake any Office of gouernment: *Sir* (saith hee)
when the time of warre is come, it is like ye shall be imployed,
meane while, hauing no qualitie fit for this time of peace, you
shall doe well, to locke your selfe up till the warres, that yee bee
not rusty when you should be used.

The occasion of this French humour, so much to
esteemme Armes, and nothing at all to regard learning,
or it may be oftentimes to contemne both, is imputed

to

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to the careless indulgence of Parents, by *Commissaires*, *Commissaires*.
*Ils nourrissent leurs enfans seulement à faire les sots, en habil-
 lements & en parolles: de nulle lettre ils n'ont connoissance:*
 They bring vp their children onely to play the fond-
 lings both in apparell and words, but of learning they
 haue no knowledge at all.

And therefore they cannot communicate with *P.*
Aemilius, in the commendation which *Plutarch* giues ^{plus, Aem-}
 him, *Il ne tenoit seulement de piqueurs & dompteurs des muls,*
*chevaux, mais aussi des Maistres de Grammaire, de Rheto-
 rique, & Dialectique, &c.* He kept not onely Riders and
 Horse-breakers, but also Teachers of Grammer, Rheto-
 rique and Logicke, &c. And whereas the first in-
 struction of the Nobility, should be, as one sayth, *La Re. Turquet.*
ligion, la vertu, les lettres, les Ars, Religion, Vertue, learn-
 ing, and the Artes: And then, *L'Escuyrie, l'Escrime, la
 venerie, la Fauconerie*: Horsemanship, Fencing, Hunting,
 Hawking: they skip the first forme, and spend all their
 time in the practise of the last: they prize at a high rate
 the lesser, & let passe the more worthy. Much like those
 Strangers in *Rome*, that carried young Whelps and
 Monkeys in their armes to play withall: What, saith *Ce-
 sar*, doe these mens wiues beare them no children?
 wisely taxing the folly of those, that leauie the better for
 the worse.

Hereof it commeth, that the French Noblesse glory-
 ing in their Armes, call themselues, *Le bras de la patrie, les
 gardiens des armes, & la terreur des ennemis*: mais iamais ne
 s'appellent *les professeurs de vertu*, saith *la Noue*: The Arme
 of their countrey, the Gardians of Armes, and terror of
 their enemies; but they never stile themselues the Pro-
 fessors of vertue.

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Du Fay.

This Estate of the Nobility, sayth one, is *Le moins en nombre des hommes, le moins riche de tous les trois Estates*: of all the three Estates, the smallest in number of men, and poorest in living. Which no question must needs be true, after so long a ciuill Warre: and heerewith accordeth he that wrote the late troubles: sayth hee, *La Noblesse Françoise est desbene de ses anciennes richesses, dont leurs maisons estoient ornées sous les regnes du Lois 12. & François 1.*

Dern. nomb.

La Noue. The French Noblesse is fallen from their ancient wealth, wherewith they were adorned in the times of Lewes 12. and Francis the first. To this purpose layth *La Noue*, *Je oseroys affirmer, que si tous ceux qui portent ce titre estoient en dix parts on trouueroit que les huit sont incommoder par alienations de leurs biens, engagements, ou autres debts*: I durst affirme, that if all they that beare this Title, were deuided into ten partes, eyght of them are impayred by Sales, Morgages, or other debts.

The same Author yeeldeth fise reasons of the poverty of the Noblesse of France. 1. *Les guerres ciuiles*. 2. *depenses superflues en habits*. 3. *depenses en meubles*. 4. *depenses in bastiments*. 5. *depenses de bouche & grosse traite*: First, the ciuill warres. Secondly, superfluous expences in apparel. Thirdly, household stufie. Fourthly, building. Fiftly, Diet and Followers. And in another place, taxing the extreme prodigality, and superfluity of the French in their apparel, building, and diet, hee layth, *Si les guerres nous ont apperte 4. onces de pauvreté, nos folies nous en ont acquis douze*: If the Warres haue brought vs foure onces of pouerty, our owne follies haue gotten vs twelue. I will not herein be mine owne Judge (sayth he) but let vs doe as players at Tennise, be iudged

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judged by all the lookers on, and they will confess, that by these excessive expences, *bon nombre de la Noblesse vont au pas, les autres au trot, et plusieurs en poste, droit aux precipices de pauvreté;* A great number of the Noblesse go a foot-pace, others trot, and many runne poste to the downetals of pouertie.

You had an example hereof in this your late voyage downe the Riuier of *Loire*, at the Castle of *Bury*, a very goodly house, as any ye haue yet seene in France, where ye heard it credibly reported, that *Monsieur D'alluye*, the owner of that place, had consumed aboue twentie thousand Crownes Reuenue the yeere, onely in dyet and apparel, who now is forced to make his owne house his prison, and stand watchfully vpon his gard, for feare of Sergeants, as we well perceiued by his ielouzy of vs, when we came to see his house, vntil he was assured that we were strangers, and came for no such purpose.

These three at this present, are reputed the richest in all France, the *D. Monpensier* in lands, the *D. d'Espernon* in Offices, and the Chancellor in money.

I should in this relation of the French Nobilitie, doe them great wrong, to beleue and report for truth, what the *Cabinet du Roy*, one of their owne Countrey, saith of them, who according to the seuerall Prouincces, giueth them seuerall Epithites.

The Noblesse of *Berry* (saith he) are *Paillards* leachers: " they of *Tourraine*, are *voleurs*, theeuers: they of *Guyenne*, " *Coyners*: they of *Tholouse*, *Traytors*: they of *Narbonne*, " *courteous*: they of *Prouence*, *Atheists* & they of *Lionnois*, " *treacherous*: they of *Rheimes*, *superfliticus*: they of " *Normandy*, *insolent*: they of *Picardie*, *proud*: and so forth " *of the rest*.

T

I will

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I will do them more right, and conclude of them, that for priuiledge, and noblenesse of Race, they may compare with any Nobilitie of Christendome. For prooste
Mis. du of the first, *Le Prince ne prend rien sur lui, que le seruice de l'ay.* The King hath nothing of his Noblesse, but

Com. de l'Estat. S. word-seruice. And for the second, saith another Authour: *La Noblesse Françoise est composee de si illustres maisons, qu' il s'en trouue, vne douzaine qui viennent de droict lignie de Roys, qui ont posse de paisiblement royaumes:* The French Noblesse is composed of so famous houses, that there are a douzin of them descended by right line from Kings, that haue peaceably possessed Kingdomes.

His Peo- Hauing briefely spoken of the two first Estates of France, the *Clergie* and *Nobilitie*: It lastly remaineth I speak of the People in general, and namely, of their free-
ness of speech, maner of diet, kindes of building, sortes of exercise, fashion of apparell, diuersitie of language, suddainnesse of apprehending, rashnesse in executing, impatience in deliberation, and diuers other natures and humours proper to the Frenchmen; wherin yee shall not looke for a methodicall and large discourse, but a briefe and compendious remembrance of such things, as I haue read and obserued in this Nation.

*Their li-
berty of
speak.* It is incredible to beleue, and odious to heare, how the Frenchman will talke, and impudently vtter what hee foolishly conceiueth, not onely of all for-
aine States and Princes of the world, but euen of their owne State and King himselfe; of whome hee will not spare to speake whatsoeuer hee heareth, and sometimes also more then the truthe; which insufferable vice of theirs, I heare put in the first place, because I holde it of all others the most disloyall and vnlawfull. Here-
of

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of the wiest sort of them much complaine, & wish re-
formation: but it is a thing so familiar and naturall with
them, as — *Expellas surca licet vsq; recurres.*

Le Duc d' Espernō (alio Author) *se plaignoit de debor.* Horat.
demens de ce siecle, et de l' infame licence des François, à detrac- Dern.
ter de leur prince: Duke *& Espernon* complained of the
disorders of the time, and of the infamous libertie of
the French, in detracting from their Prince.

This infamous and dissolute libertie of theirs, deser-
ueth to bee censured and chastised by some seuer re *Cato*,
or to be punished as those insolent soldiery of *Aemi- plus, At-*
lius, of whome *Platarch* maketh mention. milius.

Boccace in his description of Frier *Onion* his man, rec-
koneth vp nine of his principall qualities, whereof the
first is due to the Frenchman, as appeareth by this
which hath already beene said, *Malicente, disabedi-
ente, negligente, trascurato, smemorato, scostumato: folliar-
do, bugiardo, gardo:* First, rayling: secondly, disobedient:
thirdly, negligent: fourthly, rechlesse: fiftly, forgetful:
sixtly, vntmanerly: sevently, slouenly: eightly, lying:
and ninthly, slow: And I beleue, by that time ye haue
read this whole discourse, yee will bate him but the last
Axe of them all. For, that propertie of flownesse, I must
needs confess, no way is due to the French.

He hath besides this libertie of speaking, a propertie *Their*
incident to such like natures: namely, an inquisitive hearke-
listning and hearkning after newes, which is an olde fa-
shion of theirs, & hath continued with them many hun-
dred yeres. *Est autē hoc Gallicē consuetudinis, ut & viatores Cesar.*
etiam inuitos consistere cogant, & quod quisq; eorum de quaq; Comment.
re audierit aut cognoverit quarāt: & Mercatores in opidis l. 4.
vulgo circumstas, quibus ex regiēibus veniāt quasq; res ibi

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Id. l. 7.

cognoverint pronunciare cogant: et his rumoribus atque auditio-
nibus permotis, de summis (saepe rebus consilia inueniunt: quo-
rum eos e vestigio panis tere est necesse: It is vsuall with all the
Gaziers, both to constraine trauellers (though vnwilling)
to stay, and to enquire of each of them, what hee hath
heard or vnderstood of euery matter: and with the po-
pulace in Townes, to flocke about Marchants, and com-
pell them to tell from what parts they come, and what
newes they heard there: and led by these rumours and
heare-sayes, they determine many times of most
weighty affaires, of which determinations they must
needes estloones repent them.

This vice of his, *Cesar* taxeth in another place, where
he saith, *Temeritas, que maxime illi hominum generis con-
uenit, ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta:* It is a
rashnesse familiar with that sort of people, to take a light
heare-say, for an assured truth.

Their ma-
ner of
Diet.

Concerning the French diet, it is, to keepe no diet; for they feede at all times, there being among them ver-
ry few, which besides their ordinary of dinner and supper, do not goustier, as they call it, and make collations,
three or foure times the day, a thing as vsuall with the
women as men, whome ye shall see in open streetes be-
fore their dores, eate and drinke together. No maruell
therefore, though the *Italian* calls them the onely gour-
mards: And no lesse reason haue we to note their disor-
dinate feeding, then *Commines* had to taxe our nation of
drinking, who saith of vs, that he entred into a *Tauerne*
in *Amiens*, to obserue the English mans fashion, *ou ja-
nouient est: faites cent et vingt escots, et n'estoit pas encore neuf
heures du matin:* Where had beene already made CXL
seuerall shots, and yet it was not then 9. a clocke in the
morning:

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morning: For it was no great wonder to haue so many shots (as we call them) or reckonings in a morning, where there were five thousand English Soldiers in the towne, who were newly come from the Campe, where they endured much want, and entartayned with all kindnesse into the towne, vpon a finall peace made betweene our King Edward the fourth, and theirs, Lewes the eleventh.

But wee may pay *Commissaries* with his owne coyne, and reply, that a Frenchman of all other (except the Dutch) hath least cause to taxe vs of drinking: for we may see by many of their noses, what pottage they loue; and they haue among them, a Proverbe of their Priests (whom it worse beseeimeth then a Soldier) when they will note a matter of difficultie, *Il y a plus de difficulté, qu'à tirer un Prestre de village de la Tauerne*: Tis a harder matter, then to draw a Countrey Priest from the Tauerne.

A Frenchman therefore of all others, hath least reason to finde fault with drinkers,

Quis tulerit Granhos de seditione querentes?

Iuuemal.

O who can keepe his patience, when

Poore Herringman scornes Fishermen?

The French fashion (as you see dayly) is to larde all meats, whose prouision ordinary is not so plentifull as ours, nor histable so well furnished: howbeit, in banquets they farre exceed vs; for he is as *friend* (licourish) as the Trencher-men of *Media*, or *Aesope* the Tragedian, who spent fifteene thousand Crownes at one feast, in the toungs of Birds onely. He liueth not like the Italian, with roots chiefly and herbes: nor like the *Lacedemonian*, *qui porte le poit rase, jusques au cuir, se baigne en Plats*

cau Lycurg.

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eau froid, mange du pain bis, bume du brouet noir: That weares his haire shauen close to his skin, bathes himselfe in cold water, eats browne bread, and suppes blacke broth. Nor like the Scythian, who sayth, *Mibi pulpa-mentum fames, cubile solum, vestis ferarum cutis:* Hunger is my best cheere; the ground, my bed; beasts skinnes, my Plus, Al- clothing. But rather of *Alcibiades*, of whome *Plutarch cib.* reporteth, *Estoit trop delicat en son viure, dissolu en amours de folles femmes, desordone en banquets, trop superflu & effemine en habits:* He was ouer-delicate in his diet, dissolute in loue of wanton women, excessiue in banquets, and ouer-superfluous and effeminate in apparell.

As for the poore *Paisant*, he fareth very hardly, and feedeth most vpon bread and fruits, but yet hee may comfort himselfe with this, that though his fare be nothing so good, as the ploughmans, and poore *Artificers* in England, yet is it much better then that of the *villano* in Italy.

Their Building. Of the French building, I haue spoken before in the Relation of *Paris*, both that it is lately growne to bee more magnificent, then it was in former times, and that many thereby haue much weakened their estate.

You may therefore obserue, that as I there sayd, the City of *Paris* was better built then that of *London*: so are in generall, all the Cities and villages in France, fairer then ours in England, comparing the one with the other: which the fairer they were, the more miserable spectacle doe they yeeld to vs now, to see them in many places defaced and ruined.

As for the maner of building heere, how beautifull soever it bee to the eye, the Offices and roomes, mee thinks,

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thinks, are not so well contriued as ours, to the vse. One thing there is, by which they are much beautified, namely, the blewisch kinde of Tyle, which heere they haue in great quantity, the which is very hard, and therefore durable; and very thinne and light, and therefore not so burthensome to a house, as is our Tyle in England.

Concerning the Frenchmans Apparell, if ye wel ob. *Their serue that of the Citizen, both men and women, it is Apparell.* very seeally and decent: that of the *Paisant*, very poore, all whose apparell for the most part, is of lynnен: As for that of the Noblesse, ye shall heare what *La Noue* saith, *La Noue.* *Les despenses de la Noblesse en leurs habits sont excessiue, & fort riches:* The Noblesse in their expence in apparell, are excessiue and very rich. And yet, mee thinkes, nothing so rich and costly as ours; the only excessiue whereof, is the greatest preiudice and hindrance to the Common wealth, and publike benefite of our countray.

This Authour reprooueth two things in the French apparell. First, that every Gallant forlooth, must haue many suites at once, and change often in the yeere: and therefore (sayth hee) if in the Court they spie one in a suite of the last yeres making, they scoffingly say, *Nous le !d. cognoissons bien, il ne nous mordra pas, c'est un fruit suranné;* We know him well enough, he wil not hurt vs, hee's an Apple of the last yeere.

The second thing he dislikes, is this, that *De deux ans en deux ans les façons changent:* Euery two yere the fashyon changeth. And heereof it commeth, that when ye see all other Nations paynted in the proper habit of their Countrey, the French man is alwayes pictured

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with a paire of sheeres in his hand, to signify, that hee hath no peculiar habit of his own, nor contenteth himselfe long with the habit of any other, but according to his captricous humour, devieth daily new fashions.

La Nouē. This variety of fashions a man may well note in the *Frimeries of Paris*, whereof sayth *la Nouē*, if one would make a purtieict in a table, *rien ne se pourrit voar plus plas-sant*: It would bee the most sportfull thing that may bee.

Their exercises. I am now by order to speake of his *Exercises*, where-in, me thinks, the Frenchman is very immoderate, especially in those which are somewhat violent; for ye may remember, ye haue seene them play Sets at Tennise in the heat of Summer, & height of the day, when others were scarce able to stirre out of dores. This immoderate play in this vnseasonable time, together with their intemperate drinking and feeding, is the onely cause, that heere ye see them generally itchy & scabbed, some of them in so soule a sort, as they are vnsit for any honest table.

Palle-maille.

Among all the exercises of France, I preferre none before the *Palle-maille*, both because it is a Gentleman-like sport, not violent, and yeelds good occasion and opportunity of discourse, as they walke from the one marke to the other. I maruell, among many more Apish and foolish toyes, which wee haue brought out of France, that wee haue not brought this sport also into England.

Shooting in the preece,

Concerning their shooting with the *Crossebowe*, it is vled, but not very commonly. Once in a yere, there is in each city a shooting with the *Peece* at a *Popingay* of wood, set vpon some high steeple (as also they doe in

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in many places of Germany.) He that hitteth it downe, is called the King for that yere, and is free from all taxe: besides, he is allowed twenty crownes towards the making of a Collation for the rest of the shooters. And if it happen, that three yeres together he carry the Prize, he is free from all taxe and imposition whatsoever, all his life after.

This custome, no question, is very laudable, whose end tendeth much to a publike benefit: for by this practice and emulation, he groweth more ready and perfit in the vse of his Peece, and so more able and fit to do his Countrey seruice. And I suppose, if in times past wee had had like Prizes for the long Bow (the ancient glory of our English seruice) we had not so soone quit the exercise thereof, nor degenerate so farre from ancient custome. So doe I thinke, that in these dayes, wherein the Peece is onely prized, if wee had this fashion of France and Germany in England, to reward him in every place that should best deserue therein, that our Countreyman would grow more perfit & expert in the vsethereof, at whose vnaptnesse and aukwardnesse in their first trayning, before they come to haue serued sometime, I haue often maruayled.

He hath also his sports of bowling, carding, dicing, and other vnlawful, and vnlieful games, whereof I will omit to speake, being too common both with them and vs.

As for the exercise of Tennis play, which I aboue re-
membred, it is more here vised, then in all Christendome *Tennis play.*
besides, whereof may witnessse the infinite number of
Tennis Courts throughout the land, insomuch as yee
cannot finde that little *Burgade*, or towne in France, that
hath

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hath not one or moe of them. Here are, as you see, three-score in *Orleans*, and I know not how many hundred there be in *Paris*: but of this I am sure, that if there were in other places the like proportion, ye should haue two Tennis Courts, for euery one Church through France. Me thinks it is also strange, how apt they be here to play well, that ye would thinke they were borne with Racquets in their hands, euen the children themselues manage them so well, and some of their women also, as we obserued at *Blois*.

There is this one great abuse in this exercise, that the Magistrates do suffer euery poore Citizen, and Artificer to play thereat, who spendeth that on the Holyday, at Tennis, which hee got the whole weeke, for the keeping of his poore family. A thing more hurtfull then our Ale-houses in England, though the one and the other be bad ynough. And of this I dare assure you, that of this sort of poore people, there be more Tennis Players in France, then Ale-drinkers, or Malt-wormes (as they call them) with vs.

You obserue here, that their Balles are of cloth, which fashion they haue held this seuen yeeres: before which time they were of lether, like ours. Much more might be said of this exercise, but I will not reade you a Lecture in the Schoole of Tennis, whom I confesse the better Scholler.

Dancing. Neither should I speake of Dancing (for my dancing dayes are done) to you that are a Master in the Arte: (like *Phormio* the Rhetoritian, to *Hannibal*, of the warres) saue onely, that I presume, yee will give mee leaue, for methodes sake, hauing vndertaken to speake of the French exercises, not to omit that of Dauncing, wherein

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in they most delight, and is most generally vsed of all others. And I am perswaded, were it not for this, that they of the Reformed Religion, may not Dance, being an exercize against which their strait-laced Ministers much inueigh, that there had long since many of the Catholikes turned to their side: so much are they all in generall addicted hereunto. For yee shall not onely see the *Damoiselles* (Gentlewomen) and them of the better sort, but euery poore *Chapperonniere* (draggletayle) euen to the Coblers daughter, that can Dance with good measure, & Arte, all your *Quarantes*, *Leualties*, *Branstes*, & other Dances whatsoever: not somuch but the *Chambrière* (Chamber-maid) and poore Citizens wife, Dance vsually in the Citie streets, in a round, like our countrey lasses on their towne greene, about the May-pole, making musick of their own voices, without any instrument. And rather then faile, the old women themselues, both Gentle & base, who haue moe toes then teeth, and these that are left, leaping in their heads, like Jacks in Virginals, will beare their part. This argueth (I will not say alightnes & immodesty in behaviour) but a stirring spirit, & liuelynesse in the French nature: whereof alio the Musick and songs they haue, is no small argument: For there is not almost a tune in all France, which is not *Ionick*, or *Lydian*, of five or seuen tunes: a note forbiddyn youth by *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, because, sayth *Bodin*, it hath *Grande force et puissance d'amollir et lascher les represours des hommes*: Great force and power to soften and esteminate mens minds. The tune *Dorick*, which is more graue musicke, and was commaunded for the singing of Psalms in the Primitiue Church,

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their inconstant and stirring humor cannot brooke by any meanes.

Their Language It remaineth, I speake of their *Language*, of whome the *Italian* hath a prouerbe: *I Franceſi new parlaue, ceme ſcriuene, men cantane, ceme neane, men penſane, ceme dicene:* The French neither pronounce as they write, nor ſing as they prick, nor think as they ſpeake. In which firſt point, they differ from the *Latine, Italian, Spanish, Greeke*, who fully pronounce every letter in the word: where- as the French, to make his ſpeech more ſmooth, and *coulante* (as hee termes it) leaues out very many of his con- ſonants, whereby it now is growne almost as ſweete a tongue to the eare, as the *Italian* or *Greeke*: which two, by reaſon of the many vowels, are queſtioneſſe the moſt delicate languages of the world.

Sectionius. It is written of *Auguſtus* the Emperour, that he ob- ſerved no Orthography, but wrote alwayes as he ſpake, which fashion begins now to be uſed by late writers: as ye may obſerue in many of their late impreſſions: a thing vtterly condemned by them of beſt iudgement: for ſaiſt one, *While they diuides be customeſ of writing from the nature of the word, iſt an ouerthrowne ſet l'eſcripture: They haue vtterly ouerthrowne their Orthography.*

Rob. Steph. That which *Scaliger*, by the report of *Stephanus*, ſaiſt of the *Greeke* tongue, that it is, *redundans*, redundant: the ſame may wee ſay of the French, that it is *babillard*, full of tittle tattle, nothing ſo graue or ponderous, as the *Spanish*, nor ſo ſtately as the *Italian*. And hereof I thinkē it cometh, that they ſay commonly, the French is a tongue *d'amours*, Amourous; the Spanish, *de la guerre*, Warlike: and the Italian, *de la Court*, Courtly.

Haſſall. li. 3. Much agreeing with this, is that of *Haſſall*, where ſpeaking

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speaking of the battell of *Agincourt*, he saith, *Les Anglois nous ont souuent vaincu en batailles, mais nous les avons vaincu en nos traitez de paix : tant belles et subtils sont nos paroles, et pleines de niggardises*: The English haue often ouercome vs in battels, but wee haue ouercome them in our Treaties of peace, so faire and subtil are our words, and so full of entising delicacy. Whereby it shoulde seeme, it is a winning and perswading language. But this is onely the opinion of themselues, who are dotingly more in loue with their owne tongue, then with any other: which is the reason, that yee haue now almost all Histories, Greeke, and Latine, translated into French, yea, and the Artes also: insomuch as now the Gentleman readeth these things in his owne language onely: a course in my opinion most prejudicial to all good learning.

There is one reason, methinks, aboue all other, why the Frenchman affects to haue his tongue delicate and smooth, namely, for that rather then hee will lose the niggardise thereof, contrary to all rules of Grammar, and all other tongues, he obserueth no gender, where it may hinder the sweetnesse of the pronunciation (an Italian fault this, to take the Masculine for the Feminine: the more beast he.)

It remaineth (this French tongue being no Mother tongue of it self) that we obserue of what other tongues it borroweth. *Cæsar* saith, *Gallis literis Græcis utebantur: Cæs. Cæs.* The *Gawles* vsed Greeke Caracters: which Character, as *I.6.* we read in Histories, hath beene changed by three divers men, *Wastaldus, Doracius, Hichius*: where the same Writer saith, that *Bede*, our countryman, inuented a particular Alphabet for the *Normans*.

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Lnd. Regis.

Howsoeuer the letter be changed, true it is, that they haue heere many words derived from the Greeke, and agree very much also therewith in the phrase and manner of speaking. And therefore, as *Lw. Regius* sayth well of our English, that it is compounded of the French & Almaine: so iudgeth he rightly of the French, that it is the daughter of the Latine and Greeke: for, as for that which it hath common with the Italian, both in word and phrase (which is very much) the Italian, no questiō, had it from hence, this French being the more ancient Language; and this nation hauing left in Italy, with the memory of many great victories, the vse also of many of their words, as by all Historie appeareth, without which, at this day the Italian could not serue himself of his owne.

True it is, that now of late, the French, especially in the Court, haue gotten many of theirs in vse, for a grace forsooth, not of necessity; wherein they much resemble vs of England, who (they say) send diuers skinnes into other countries, which those people vse to their necessity, and make toyes and bables of the tayles, which they returne backe againe to vs, at as great a rate, as they bought the whole.

Concerning the difference betweene the language vsed at this day, and that of former times, ye are to obserue, that all things in this world haue their beginnings, growings, perfection, corruption and alteration: As maners of liuing, formes of gouernment, abrogation of Lawes, change of Militarie seruice, new-fangleenesse of habit, new fashion of building, diuersities of Armour, new inuentiones of instruments, &c. And of all these, none more subiect to change, then Language, nor

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nor no language in the world more then this of the French.

For as *Polibius* sayeth of the *Romines*, that when they should conclude a Peace, after the second *Puniske* warre with them of *Carthage*, that they could not reade the Articles of the first, so much was the Character: And as *Linie* saith of the song which the *Sabin* Priestes vsed in their sacrifice, that they were so olde Latine, they could not be vnderstoode: And as wee may say of our *Englyssh*, that it very much differeth from that of *Chaucers* time: so saith *Lu. Regius* of the *French* tongue, *Lu. Regius*. that within these fistie yeeres, it is almost growen a new language, and which still like the French apparell euery yeere altered.

If you aske me what Authours of the French I most approoue? I durst commend *Coromines*, *Bodin*, *Plessie*, *Bertas*, for Historie, Policie, Diuinitie and Moralitie, with the best: and great pitie it is, that the Historie of the first is written in no better French. But if you demand the best Authours, for the language it selfe, I thinke, as *Tuscaine* hath a *Duute* and a *Petrarch*, *Greece* an *Iſocrates* and a *Demosthenes*, *Rome* a *Cicero* and a *Cesar*, we a *Sydney* and a *Chaucer*: so, France hath a *Bertas* and a *Romsart*, in this kinde most recommendable. For the place of best language, yee must euer obserue, that the farther from Sea, the better speakers, as *Athens* in *Gracia*, *Florence* in *Italy*, *Saxonie* in *Almany*, *Perſes* in *Asia*, *Castile* in *Spaine*, and *Orleans* here, and many other places.

It now remaineth I speake of the French nature and *Their na-
humour*: which by the change of his speech, apparell, *ture and
building, humour.*

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building, by his credulity to any tale which is told, & by his impatience & haste in matter of deliberatio, where-
1. In De- liberati- of I shall not omit presently to speake, ye may iudge to
ons. be very idle, wauering and inconstant. Saith one, *Gallo- Bezade rum ut pronunciatio celerrima, ita quoque ingenia mobilis fratingua sunt*: As the Frenchmens pronunciation is very fast, so are their wits very wauering. And yee shall reade in *Cesars Cōmentaries* very often, how hee taxeth them of this legerity and suddennesse: *His de rebus Casar certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum verius (quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles, et novis plerisque rebus studere) nihil his cō- missendum existimauit*: Casar being entormed of these matters, and fearing the vnstablenesse of the Gaules (as being sudden and wauering in their resolutions, and generally desirous of innouation) he thought fit not to trust them. And in another place, *Cum intelligeret Cæsar omnes sere Gallos mouis rebus studere, & ad bellum mobiliter celeri- terque incitari, &c.* Cæsar vnderstanding, that almost all the Gaules were naturally hungry of change, and vnconstantly, and suddenly stirred to warre, &c. And againe, *Ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia*: As the resolution of the Gaules are sudden, and vnlooked for, &c.

2. *Can. li. 3.* *lb.* To conclude, if yee will rightly knowe the nature & humor of the ancient Gaules, ye must read the sixt of these Commentaries, and you shal obserue how strange it is, that though all other things in the world are subiect to change, yet the same naturel of lightenesse and inconstancy still remaines in the French. This is aptly

3. *Haill. li. 3.* shewed by *Haillan*, in his description of *Lewes* the eleuenth: *Auoist sl une chose? soudain ill auoit affection & une autre: cestaus vehement, actif et impatient*: If hee had one thing, hee straight castis his affection to another, being violent,

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violent, busie-headed and impatient.

To this accordeth another of their owne writers,^{2.} *In La conditſon de la France eſt telle, que ſi il n'y a debat par de- maſter of hors contre les grands, il faut qu'ell eufſt avec ſes domesṭiqueſ, warre. et que ſon eſprit ne peut eſtre en repos:* Such is the condition *Com. cap. of France, that if ſhee haue no Warres abroad againſt 44. powerfull neighbours, ſhee muſt haue broyles at home among her owne Subiects, and her working ſpirits can neuer remaine long quiet. And therefore Tacitus calleſ them, Leuissima hominum genera: The moſt ficklē kinde of men; ſudden to begin and more ſudden to ende, apter to apprehend the aſtion, then comprehend the cauſe, ready to lay hold, not able to hold fast: as by the making and reuoking of ſo many Edicts, againſt the Re- Dern. formed Religion in ſo fewe yeeres, by the winning and troub. loſing of Naples and Millaine in ſo ſhort time, and by Guicciard lib. 5. many other their actions appeareth.*

For yee muſt obſerue of the French, that he entreth a Countrie like thunder, and vaniſheth out againe like ſmoke: hee reſemblēth the Wasp, who after the firſt ſtroke, loſeth her ſting, and can hurt no more.

He ſheweth this his lightneſſe and incoſtancie, not onely in matters of ſeruice and warre, (whereof I haue before made mention) but alſo euēn in other his actions and carriages: But in nothing more, then in his familiarietie, with whome a ſtranger cannot ſo loone bee off *3. In in- his horſe, but he will be acquainted; nor ſo loone in his teray- Chamber, but the other like an Ape will bee on his ning of ſhoulder: and as ſuddenly and without cauſe yee ſhall friendſhip loſe him alſo. A childiſh humour, to bee wonne with as little as an Apple, and loſt with leſſe then a Nut: Quite contrarie to the nature of the Italian, of whome*

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ye shall in your trauell shortly obserue, that he is of too sullen and retired a fashion, & a *loup-garou* (as the French man calles him) wherein I would haue you obserue the vertue of the English man (for vertue is a mediocrity betweene two extremes) who is neyther so childishly and Apishly familiar, as the French; nor so scornfully and Cynically solitary as the other.

4. *In mane-
naging a
quarrell.* So are we in matter of duell and priuate quarrell, in a meane, me thinks, betweene these two Nations: for we are neyther so deuillishly mindfull of reuenge, as to tary seuen or ten yeres for an opportunity vpon our enemy, as doeth the Italian: nor so inconsideratly hasty, as we must needs eyther fight to day, or be friends to morrow, as doth the French. Hereat *Rablaist* scoffingly glanceth, where he telleth a tale of a *Gascoigne*, that hauing lost his money, would needs in the heat of his choller fight with any man that bore head: and for want of an enemy fell asleep. By that time he was waking, comes mee another *Ridomonte*, and vpon like cause of losse, would haue this fellow by the eares: but then the edge of this other was off. In conclusion (sayth *Rablaist*) they went both to the Tauerne, and there for want of money which they had lost at Dice, drunke themselues friends vpon their swords, without farther meditation, or troubling of others to take vp the quarrell.

Of the French carriage and manage of a quarrell, how childish and ridiculous it is, ye haue already seene two or three examples, wherein the parties haue neyther shewed iudgement, to know their owne right, nor valor to reuenge their wrong: whereas the English Gentleman, with mature deliberation disputeth how farre his honour is ingaged, by the iniury offered, and

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and iudiciously determineth his maner of satisfaction, according to the quality of the offence: which done, hee presently embarqueth himselfe into the action, according to the prescription of the olde rule, *Postquam consulueris, mature opus est factio;* *Wise resolutions should be speedily executed.* *Salust.*

I will heere remember you of one other instance more, wherein our Countreymen keepe the golden meane, betweene the two extremes of defect and excele, and wherein these two Nations of Italy and France are culpable, and heere worthily to be taxed.

We may say of the Italian, who maketh his house his ^{5.} *In Gom* wiues prison, as Plutarch sayth of the Persians, *Sont de uerning nature estrangement & cruellement ialonzes des femmes, non his wife,* seulement de celles qu'ils ont espousées, *mais aussi de leurs es- plus.* *claves: & de leurs concubines, lesquelles ils gardent si estroit- Themist.* *tement que personne ne les void iamais dehors, ains demeurent tousiours renfermées en leurs maisons:* They are by nature strangely and cruelly iealous of their women, not onely of their wiues, but also of their slaves and Concubines, whom they gardo straitly, that they are neuer scene abroad, but remayne alwayes locked vp in their houses: Whereas the French liberty on the other side is too much: for here a man hath many occasions offred vp- on any small entrance, to come acquainted; and vpon enery least acquaintance, to enter, where he may come to her house, accompanie her arme in arme in the streets, court her in all places, & at all seasons, without imputa- tion. Wherein, me thinks, the French maried man doth as Plutarch reports of Pericles, *take away the walles & fenc- id. Peric.* *ces of his orchards & gardens, to th' end every man might freely enter and gather fruit at his pleasure.*

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No maruell then, the bridle being left in their owne hands, though sometimes they be saddled, & their husbands know not. You may obserue therefore, that in this matter of wedlocke also, the English vse is better then either the Italian or French.

6. In apt-
ness to
scoffe. It is also naturall to the French, to be a great scoffer; for men of light and vnsteadie braines, haue commonly sudden and sharpe conceites. Hereto also their language well agreeth, as being currant and full of prouerbes; to which purpose I will remember you of two answeres, not long since made by two Frenchmen, with one of which you are well acquainted, wherein also you may obserue, how little esteeme they hold of the *Romane Religion* in heart, though they make profession thereof in shew.

The one of these being very sicke, & as was thought, in danger of death, his ghostly father comes to him with his *Corpus domini*, and tels him, that hearing of the extremitie wherein he was, he had brought him his *Saviour*, to comfort him before his departure. The sicke Gentleman withdrawing the Curtaine, and seeing there the fat lubberly Frier with the *Oast* in his hand, answereith, I know it is our *Saviour*; he comes to me as he went to Ierusalem, *C est un asne qui le porte*: He is carried by an *Asse*.

The other Gentleman vpon like danger of sicknesse, hauing the Frier come to him to instruct him in the Faith, and after, to giue him the *Oast*, and then the extreme vncion (it was on a Friday) tolde him that hee must beleeue, that this *Corpus domini* which he brought, was the very reall flesh, blood and bone of our *Saviour*. Which after the sicke man had freely confessed, the

Frier

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Frier offered it him to receyue for his comfort. Nay, quoth the other, *Vous m'excuserez, car i en mange point de chair le vendredi*: You shall excuse me, for I eate no flesh on Fridayes. So that yee see the French will rather lose his god, then his good iest.

The French humour also (sayth one) *est incompatible Bolde, anes patience & modestie*: cannot away with patience & modesty. And therefore another sayth of him, that he is as shamefast and modest, *comme un Page de la Cour : La Noue*, as a Page of the Court. Or as Hiperbolus, who, *Plut. Alcib.* faith, for his boldnesse and saucy impudency, was the only Subiect in his time for all Satyricks and Commedians to worke vpon.

He is also such a one, as *Theophrastus calles, Duschères, Vnicieunly i. immundus, vnicleanly, Tbeop.* *Qui lepra & vtiligine laborans, vnguesq; habens prelongos inter homines versatur, ac dicit Character gentilissimos esse hos morbos, nam & patrem & aumus suisse eis obnoxios*: Who being leprous and scabby, and weareing long vnpated nayles, thrusts himselfe into company, and sayes, those diseases come to him by kind; for both his Father and his Grandfather were subiect vnto them.

Hee is *Adolesches, i. loquax, Talkatiue, Qui præ Talkatiue quauis Hirundine garrulus videri malit, quam tacere, adeo se irriteri fert patientem*: Who had rather seeme more chattering then a Swallow, then hold his peace; so willing is hee to make himselfe ridiculous. With which people (it is strange) ye shall talke all day, & yet at night not remember whereof hee hath talked; such multipli-city of words he hath, and so idle is the matter whereof he treateth.

Hee is *Acuros, i. intempestiuus, vnseasonably trouble. Trouble. some, some.*

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some, qui ad amicum occupatum accedens, vult re in-communicata cum illo deliberare: Who comming to his friend full of busynesse, will giue him counsell, before he haue imparted the matter vnto him: And therfore they themselues haue here a prouerbe, *Prendre quelqu' vn de Gallois*: To surprise one after the French fashyon, when they take one of a studdaine, comming vnlooked for and vntent for. Of which kind of people, Theophrastus bids vs beware, where he saith: *Id genus homines demissis manibus grandisq; gradu fugias oportet, quisquis febre carere voler: difficile est enim cum ijs durare, qui neq; oij, neq; negotijs tempora distinguere norant*: If you will not bee troubled with a fit of Ague, you must run as fast as your legs can carie you from such kind of men: for it is very troublesome liuing with fellowes, that cannot distinguish the seasons of leasure and affaires.

Vainely
proude.

He is *Microphilostomus*. i. *Inepte circa res parvas superbus*: Proud of trifles, qui, si bonum sacrificari, solet anteriorem capitum eius partem magnis redimitam scrisis praesoribus in ipso inrota figere, ut intelligent quis ingreditur, bouem ab ijs so maculatum. Et si minima argenti soluere debeat, laborat ut soluerit in *Aspero*: Who, if he haue sacrificed an Oxe, vseth to nayle vp the head and hornes at his gate, that all that come to him, may take notice that he hath kild an Oxe. And if he bee to pay fortie shillings, will be sure to pay it in new-coynd money. This is hee that comes to the Tennis Court, throwes his Purse full of coyne at the line, which giueth a sound, as if there were no less then thirtie or fourtie Crownes, when as sometimes by mischance, we haue discovered that it was nothing, but Paper, and a fewe Sols, and doubles of Brasse, that made it so fwell, in all, scarce eightene pence sterling.

He

The vice of France.

He is *Alazón*, i. *Openator*, A Craker: *Qui ad eos ac- Boasting
cedens qui generosos equos vendunt, velle se emere simulat: et of things
innundinis ad tentoria eorum qui merces vanum exponunt, nothing
appropinquans, vestrum sibi ostendi inbet duum talentorum: worth.
demum, (cum de precio conuenit) puerum, quid se sine auro se-
quatur, grauiter obiurgat: Who comming to such as haue
great horses to sell, makes them belieue hee will buy
some: And at great Faires, drawing to their shoppes that
sell apparell, calls to see a sute of an hundred pound: and
when they are agreed of the price, falleth out with his boy,
for following him without his purse. Such a one was
the gallant, of whome yee tolde me this other day, who
in the middest of his discourse with you and other Gentle-
men, suddenly turnes backe to his Lackie, Fetch
me, saith he, my *Horologe*, Clocke, it lies in my lodging
in such or such a place, neere such or such a Iewell. The
Latro returnes with a *non est inventus*. My French gal-
lant streight bethinkes himselfe that it is in his pocket
(which hee knew well enough before) which presently
he pulleth out, not so much to shew how the time passeth,
(whereof he takes little care) as the curiousnesse of the
worke, and the beautie of the case, whereof hee is not a
little brag & enamoured. To speake thus particularly of
all his severall humours and customes, would bee very
prolix, and not much necessarie: I wil only referre you
to the fourth of *Tullies Rhetorickes*, where he speakest of *Rhet. ad
a bragging Rhodomonte*, and to the first booke of *Ho. Herren-
race Satyres*, speaking of an endles & needles prater, a fa-
stidious & irkesome companion, where you shall see the *Satyr. l. I.
fa. 9.*
French *naturel*, very liuely & admirably well described.*

I will onely speake of his impatience and precipitati-
on in deliberations of Warre or Peace, and such other
affayres

*Hastie to
conclude
a Peace.*

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affayres of greatest importance, and so end. To this effect Bodin saith of him, *Le naturel du François est si soudain & aitif, qu'il quest ce qu'on demande, annuyé des allées & reuées, & de longueurs propres à l'Espagnol*: The French is of so sudden & busie a disposition, that he quickly yeelds to that a man demands, being soone tired with messages to & fro, and other delayes peculiar to the Spanyard. And in another place, *On desire en l' Espagnol une promptitude plus grande qu'il n'a: & au François les actions & passions plus moderées*: The Spanyard had need of a more ready dispatch then he hath, & the French of more moderation in his actions and passions. And whereas Commines saith of vs, that we be not *si subtils en tracitez et appoinemens comme les François*: so crafty in our treaties & agreements, as the French. I thinke, sauing the credit of so great an Author, he might better haue said, *si eslourdez & precipitez*: so headstrong and precipitate. But where he saith, that he that will treat & determine matters with vs, must haue *vn peu de patience*, a little patiēce: I yeeld vnto him, he hath good reaon so to say; for his Countrymen, the French, can endure no delay; they must propound and cōclude all in one day. Whether of theire be more praiseworthy *Plutarch* thus decideth: *Agatharcus* bragged of his ready and quick hand, & that he painted faster then any other; which *Zeuxes* vnderstanding, And I, quoth he, quite contrary, doe glory in this, that I am long in the doing; for ordinarily such suddennesse and facility can not giue eyther a lasting firmnesse, or a perfect beauty to the worke. Therefore saith one very well, *That should bee long in deliberation, that must be resolued but once*. To this *Plut.*, *Peri.*, agreeeth the saying of *Pericles* to *Tolmides*, *We must tarry the time, which is the wisiest Counselle we can haue*.

By

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By this haste of theirs, they lost more, saith Bodin, by Bodin l. 3.
one Treatie at Cambrey, Anno 1559. to the Spaniard,
then he had before got of the French in fortie yeeres by
Warre.

And I see no reason, but this present Peace which the *Of this French* hath made, is as aduantageous to the *Spanish State*, *peace of* as was that other, considering *it is as great a gaine to sauie Fra.* and *that we are like to lose, as to get that from another, which is not Sp. in 98.* our owne. For as it is truely said of the Spanish King, that hee hath not got vpon the French (money by victories, but victories by money:) And as *Plutarch* saith of *Philip* *Plut. P.* of *Macedon*, It was not *Philip*, but his golde and siluer, *Acmil.* that tooke the townes of *Greece*: So may we say of his Treaties which hee hath had with France, whereunto hee hath of force beene driuen, even as *Ennius* saith of *Ennius. Fabius.*

*Our State, which wileſſe force made wayne,
His wiſe delayes made waxe agayne.*

For that this nation will rather yeeld the enemie what he demandeth, then bee troubled with long deliberation: a thing so contrarie to his nature, as nothing more.

You may obserue by the course of later Histories, that the *Spaniards* purpose was to deale with France, as *Al-* *Plut.* *cibiades* said, the *Athenians* would deale by them of *Pa-* *Alcib.* *tra*: They will eate you out by little and little. To which purpose, in all these late ciuill Warres, King *Philip* played the Fire-brand, like the Priests of *Mars*, who, when Bodin l. 4. two Armies were met, threw fire betweene them for a signall of battell, to set them together, and then retired themselues from the danger. He set the *Popes* on also to kindle this fire, who were but Barkers, and could not bite; their leaden Buls did but butt; they could not hurt;

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abler to curse then to kill: whose force is like that of
Whet-stone,

Plat. Peri.

Which though it sharpnesse lacke,
Yet yron sharpe can make.

But when hee saw that little England (which is to
Spane, as *Alcibiades* said, the Ile Aegina was to Athens,
Vne paille en l'ail, a mote in his eye) did trump in his way,
and crosse his desaignes: and when as hee considered,
that (as *Henry* the second of France, was the only cause
of hindering his father *Charles* the first, from usurping up-
on all Germanie, for which cause hee is called in their
publike writings, *The Protector of the Empire, and deliuerer*
of the Princes:) So her Maiestie, by defending the oppres-
sed, and withstanding his Forces, deserueth the Title of
Proteictrix of France, and deliuerer of the Estates: Hee was
then content to motion a Peace, and like a false friend,
when he could doe no more hurt, to shake hands. Here-
upon he did capitulate to render *Calais, Durlens, Ardres,*
Blanet, and other places conquered or surprised vpon
the French. A courle, no question, wisely taken by the
Spaniard, considering the termes wherein hee stode;
the want of money hee had, the credit hee had lost in all
Bankes, the decrepit age wherein he was, and lastly, the
sudden and incredible good fortunes of the French
King and State, after so many yeres of miserie and losse.
As for the French, what could he haue done, more dis-
honourable to himselfe, or profitable to his enemies, or
preiudicall to his late Allies? what lesse agreeing with
the time, with his cause, with his oath, then to yeeld to
this peace? But it hath bene an old tricke of the French,
to obserue neither promise, nor oath, as *Louis* the first
saith, Haill. lib. 1. Wee may say of their purpose, as

Plutarch

The view of France.

*Platarch of Lisanders: Children are deceipted with chance. ^{plus, Pa-}
bones, and men with oaths.* In this schoole of Fraude,^{lop.}
Pope Julius 2. was well read, who professed to his pri-
uate friends, that all the Treaties which he made with
the *Princes of France, Germanie, and Spaine,* was but to
deceive the one of them by the other. But let the French
take heed there come not a day of payment for this,
who are so hasty to abandon their friends, and make
peace with their foes, onely vpon a foolish *naturel* of
theirs, to desire change, and to enjoy their present ease
and pleasure, not foreseeing future daungers: like
Schoole-boyes, who care not, so they may play to day,
though they be bricht to morrow. When the Dukes
of *Burgondie, Berrie, and Bretaine*, were combined a-
gainst *Leues* the *11.* of France (as were lately England,
France, and States against Spaine) the counsell of *Fran-*
cis Zforce to the King, was, for the present, to agree to
all things they desired, and after (faith hee) in short
time, ye shall haue occasion when they are disleagued,
to deale with them one by one. And we may well say
of this King present, as the Count *Charollois* feared of *Commines*
the Duke of *Berri*: the French Kings brother: That he ^{cap. 24.} *Id.*
was a likely man to be soone drawen to agree, & leaue
vs in the mire: forgetting the olde sentence: It is the
true signe of the approaching ruine of a Countrey,
when those that should holde together, diuide them-
selues, and abandon one another. And howsoeuer for
the present, the French bragge to be gayners by the
bargayn, I am sure, their Allies haue no part of the *Ge-*
Beau, Cake. It is true therefore, that *Commines* faith,
There was never so plentifull a mariage feast, but some
went without their dinners. Wherin, me thinks, we
haue great wrong, to beare a burden with them in their

The vien of France.

Warres, and not to partake with them in the benefit of their Peace. *Maximilian* the first Emperour said, hee made Peace for no other end with *Lewes* the twelfth, but to be reuenged of seuentene wrongs he had done him. The King present, by the policie of this age, and law *Talionis*, might say and doe the like to the *Spaniard*, not for seuentene wrongs, but for seuentene yeeres wrongs hee hath receiuied: which when hee shall haue done, it is but quittance, and the other shall be but iustly serued: for saith *Bodin*, *He which is falsly dealt with, having himselfe first played false, hath no cause to complaine*. And surely, the French must againe shortly bee doing, with him or some other, or at least one with another at home: he will soone be as wearie of Peace, as he is now of warre. *La nation Françoise est insolent en pain, impatient de demeurer long temps en la maison*: The French nation is insolent in Peace, & impatient of tarrying long at home.

¶ Thus haue you a superficiall survey of this Country and People of France, of whom we may concludewith *La Noue*. *Plus de la moitié de la Noblesse est perie, le peuple diminué, les finances espuisées les debts accrue, la discipline renuersee, la pieté languissant, les moeurs des bordenées, la justice corrompue, les hommes diuisés*: More then halfe the Noblesse is perished, the people diminished, the Treasure exhausted, the debts increased, good Order ouerthrown, Religion languished, maners debaucked, Justice corrupted, and the men diuided.

I make no doubt, but to these slender obseruations, you wil after adde better of your own Collection, vsing this onely as the patterne of a method, how to discourse of the Cosmography, Policie and Oeconomy of such other Countiess wherein you shall trauaile.

F I N I S.